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XENOPHON
MEMORABILIA
OECONOMICUS
SYMPOSIUM
APOLOGY



Translated by
E. C. MARCHANT
O. J. TODD

XENOPHON (c.430 to c.354 BC) was a wealthy Athenian and friend of Socrates. He left Athens in 401 and joined an expedition including ten thousand Greeks led by the Persian governor Cyrus against the Persian king. After the defeat of Cyrus, it fell to Xenophon to lead the Greeks from the gates of Babylon back to the coast through inhospitable lands. Later he wrote the famous vivid account of this 'March Up-Country' (*Anabasis*); but meanwhile he entered service under the Spartans against the Persian king, married happily, and joined the staff of the Spartan king, Agesilaus. But Athens was at war with Sparta in 394 and so exiled Xenophon. The Spartans gave him an estate near Elis where he lived for years writing and hunting and educating his sons. Reconciled to Sparta, Athens restored Xenophon to honour but he preferred to retire to Corinth.

Xenophon's *Anabasis* is a true story of remarkable adventures. *Hellenica*, a history of Greek affairs from 411 to 362, begins as a continuation of Thucydides' account. There are four works on Socrates (collected in Volume IV of the Loeb Xenophon edition). In *Memorabilia* Xenophon adds to Plato's picture of Socrates from a different viewpoint. The *Apology* is an interesting complement to Plato's account of Socrates' defense at his trial. Xenophon's *Symposium* portrays a

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INTRODUCTION

Note on the Titles : (a) The Memorabilia.

THE title by which this work is familiarly known to us, dates only from 1569, when Johann Lenklau prefixed it to the Latin version that accompanied his great edition of Xenophon's works. Before that time scholars had commonly used the Greek title *Apomnemoneumata*, i.e. *Memoirs*, or the awkward description *De factis et dictis Socratis memoratu dignis*. The correct Latin equivalent of the Greek name is *Commentarii*, which, in fact, occurs in the description of the book given by Aulus Gellius (XIV. iii.), viz. *libri quos dictorum et factorum Socratis commentarios composuit (Xenophon)*.

The Greek title itself is not altogether satisfactory ; for in reality the *Memorabilia* consists of four separate parts, which were certainly not all composed at the same time, and to the first of these parts the title does not apply.

(b) The Oeconomicus.

"In many respects," writes Cicero in a well-known passage of the *de Senectute*, "Xenophon's works are very useful. How eloquently he praises agriculture in his book entitled *Oeconomicus*, which deals with the care of one's property." Philodemus and Galen refer to the book as the *Oeconomica*. The ancients certainly did not suppose that the title meant the *Economist* or *Householder*, but understood it to denote

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exactly what Cicero's words suggest—a *Discourse on Estate Management*. The same holds good *mutatis mutandis* of the titles *Hipparchicus* and *Cynegeticus*.

I

The first part of the *Memorabilia*, which is confined to the first two chapters of the First Book,¹ is a Defence of Socrates, who had been tried and condemned to death on a charge of "impiety," in the spring of 399 B.C. At the time of the trial Xenophon was absent in Asia. No speech delivered by any one of the three prosecutors—Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon—had been published, and Xenophon in consequence is only able to give the gist, not the exact form, of the indictment (I. i. 1), which had been drawn by Meletus. His reply to this indictment extends to the eighth section of the second chapter.

At this point a surprise is in store for the reader. For in the next sentence (I. ii. 9) Xenophon suddenly refers to "the prosecutor" in the singular, and proceeds to combat a series of accusations that he had brought. This "prosecutor" had charged against Socrates: (1) that he encouraged his companions to despise the laws (ii. 9); (2) that Critias and Alcibiades, who had done great evil to the state, were his associates (ii. 12); (3) that he taught young men to despise their fathers and their other relations, and to be false to their friends (ii. 49); (4) that he encouraged unscrupulous conduct and an anti-democratic spirit by the use he made of the poets (ii. 56).

Xenophon at first sight appears to be replying here

¹ The absurd division into books and chapters is, of course, not due to Xenophon himself.

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to a speech actually delivered for the prosecution. But, as we have just seen, this cannot be the case. To whom, then, and to what is he replying? The correct solution of this problem was first given by Cobet, and it has been supported by a series of indisputable proofs by several subsequent scholars. The man Socrates had died in 399 B.C., and had left nothing written. But his ardent and gifted disciples—especially Antisthenes, a fanatical admirer, and a little later Plato—very soon began to publish works about Socrates, especially dialogues in which Socrates appeared as the chief interlocutor. One of these earlier Socratic works is, of course, the *Apology* of Plato. And so it came about that a literary Socrates grew into being—a figure that retained much, doubtless, of the historical man, but was not identical with him, and might be variously represented by the different authors, and even by the same author in different works.

This cult of Socrates actually provoked opposition. For shortly after the year 393 B.C. a well-known “sophist” named Polycrates published an attack on his memory, throwing his attack into the form of an imaginary speech delivered by one of the three prosecutors, Anytus, at the trial. In after ages a belief not unnaturally grew up that Anytus had actually employed this man, Polycrates, to write his speech for the prosecution. In reality the “Accusation of Socrates” written by Polycrates was nothing more than a literary exercise, based no doubt on reminiscences of the trial, but strongly coloured by the writer’s own views. Xenophon was now living in exile at Scillus near Olympia; and there he must have read the work of Polycrates. He resolved to compose a reply, traversing the accusation

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step by step.¹ The "prosecutor" then, is Polycrates, or rather Polycrates masquerading as Anytus.

Xenophon's *Defence* of Socrates, therefore (occupying Book I. i. and ii.), has a double purpose. It is intended, first, to be an answer to the actual indictment, so far as Xenophon was aware of its terms; and, secondly, to refute the attack of Polycrates on the memory of the martyred Socrates. As for the substance of the *Defence*, we note that although Plato's *Apology* was certainly written already, Xenophon has not drawn upon it. In fact, throughout these two chapters there are no trustworthy indications that he has laid any of Plato's published work under contribution. At I. ii. 20, indeed, Xenophon quotes in support of his arguments two passages from the poets that are in the *Meno* and the *Protagoras* of Plato, but it would be absurd to suppose that he went to Plato for two commonplace passages that would be familiar to every educated Athenian. In one passage (I. ii. 10) Xenophon expresses an opinion that is known to have been maintained by Antisthenes; in another (I. ii. 19) he combats that Cynic's doctrine of the permanence of Virtue. In neither place is he professing to report the views of Socrates; and even if it is safe to conclude from these two instances that he had consulted the works of Antisthenes, there is, so far as can be ascertained, no trace in the *Defence* that he borrowed such knowledge as he shows of Socrates from Antisthenes. The most likely inference from these negative facts is that

¹ In after ages another rejoinder was written to Polycrates by Libanius (fourth century A.D.), from whose *Defence* a good deal more can be learned about the lost *Accusation* of Polycrates.

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he incorporated only such knowledge of Socrates as he had gained himself by intercourse with the Master. This knowledge, to be sure, is superficial, and does not point to a close intimacy. On the other hand, since Xenophon is concerned only to rebut the specific charges brought by the prosecutors and by Polycrates, we are scarcely entitled to assume that he has told us *all* that he really knew about Socrates in these two chapters.

II

The Socratic literature rapidly grew in bulk. Antisthenes, who developed the Cynic system out of the teaching of Socrates, was probably the first to write "Socratic" dialogues. Plato, a much younger man, soon entered the field in sharp opposition to the Cynic. And others tried their hand. It seems that somewhere about the year 385 B.C., Xenophon, who had perhaps now read what Plato had so far published, and had certainly pondered on the works of Antisthenes and assimilated much of his doctrine, decided to compose a series of memoirs and dialogues as illustrations of his "Defence of Socrates." These illustrations cover the remainder of the First (I. iii. onwards) and the whole of the Second Book of the *Memorabilia*. "I propose to show," he says (I. iii. 1), "how Socrates helped his companions both by his deeds and his words: and, in order to do so, I shall relate all that I remember about them."

Though he makes no reference here to his earlier work, he follows its arrangement closely. He first gives details to prove that Socrates accepted the gods of the state (I. iii. 1-4). Then he insists on the moral tendency of the conduct and teachings of Socrates

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(5-15); and here he recalls an outspoken conversation between the Master and himself about love. It is the only conversation in the collection in which Xenophon himself takes part. Having proceeded thus far, he suddenly modifies his plan; and writes a new and controversial introduction to a complete series of dialogues, dealing again with the two topics already handled—the piety and the morality of Socrates—before proceeding to illustrate his third topic. He says no more about the *actions* of Socrates; and the reason presumably is, that he was conscious that he could not add anything new to what he had already said in the *Defence*, little as that was. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, having undertaken to tell all that he remembers about the helpful deeds of Socrates, he has after all told us so very little, but has in the main confined himself to the conversations.

It will be convenient to have a list of the ensuing topics side by side with the corresponding passages of the *Defence*:

1. I. iv., On *Piety*: I. i. 2-19.
2. I. v.-vi. 10, On *Self-discipline*: I. ii. 1-5.
3. I. vi. 11-14, On *Taking Fees*: I. ii. 5-8.
4. I. vi. 15-II. 1., On *Obedience to the Laws and Service to the State*: I. ii. 9-48.
5. II. ii., On *The Duty of Children to Parents*: I. ii. 49-50.
6. II. iii., On *The Relations between Brothers*: I. ii. 51.
7. II. iv.-vii., On *The Treatment of Friends and Relations*: I. ii. 52-55.
8. II. viii.-x., On *Socrates as Philanthropist*: I. ii. 56-61.

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Xenophon's statement that he himself "heard" these conversations is a mere literary device. Some of them may quite possibly be based on actual recollection. But others are almost certainly pure invention. Who could suppose, for instance, that Socrates lectured his son on his duty to his mother (II. ii.), or urged Chaerecrates to make up a quarrel with his brother (II. iii.), while a third person, Xenophon, stood by silent, storing up all that good advice in a capacious memory? The supposition of Mr. Dakyns that such conversations were repeated to Xenophon by Lamprocles, Chaerecrates and others is very unlikely, unless we could imagine that Xenophon went about Athens gathering reports of Socrates' conversations before he left for Asia, and when as yet he had no notion that he would ever come to write Socratic memoirs. The opening conversation of the collection, that on Piety (I. iv.), probably owes much to the study of Antisthenes. The chapters on the education of the Ruler (II. i.) and on the proper relations between parents and children, brothers, relatives and friends, contain much that we associate with Xenophon himself rather than with Socrates; and it is difficult to imagine Socrates declaiming to Aristippus a long passage from a work of Prodicus which was often part of its author's own programmes (II. i. 21).

Does Xenophon owe anything to Plato in this part of the *Memorabilia*? The question hardly admits of a confident answer. The passage about the "Kingly Art" and "Happiness" in II. i. 17 bears a close resemblance to a sentence in the *Euthydemus* of Plato (p. 291 b). But we know that the "Kingly Art" was a commonplace with Antisthenes, as may be seen from some words put

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into his mouth in Xenophon's *Banquet* (iv. 6). Again, the opening words of I. vi. 14 strongly suggest a passage in Plato's *Lysis* (p. 211 d). But a similar sentiment is attributed to Socrates by Epictetus (III. v. 14) and reappears in Dio Chrysostom (III. 128), and as both these authors borrow largely from Cynic sources, the common source of all four passages may possibly be Antisthenes again, though it certainly looks as if Xenophon here had borrowed from Plato, so close is the correspondence.

However that may be, we have here a series of imaginary conversations to which Xenophon's study of the Socratic literature has contributed not a little. But no doubt many of his reflections are really based on his recollection of Socrates himself. There is no proof in them, however, that Xenophon had really been one of his intimate companions, and indeed he nowhere makes any such claim. These remarks apply equally to the Collections which make up the Third and the Fourth Books.

III

The Third Book of the *Memorabilia*, which consists of miscellaneous dialogues loosely strung together, and an appendix of aphorisms, clearly forms yet another separate work. The first seven chapters are linked together by a common subject—the civil and military service of the state. But at the eighth chapter the writer passes abruptly to the relation of a dialectical encounter between Socrates and Aristippus the Cyrenaic, on the identity of the Beautiful and the Useful, and appends to it a discourse of Socrates on the same theme. Next we come on a series of definitions.

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Then follow other conversations on detached topics. The aphorisms that fill the last two chapters are concerned with very small things: and they are quite in the Cynic manner. The talk between Socrates and the younger Pericles (c. v.) may really have occurred in the year 411 B.C.; but the ambitions of Thebes are alluded to in a manner that suggests the period of the Theban Supremacy, the years following the battle of Leuctra (fought in 371 B.C.), as the time of composition, and there is a suspiciously Xenophontine ring in the allusions of Pericles to the excellence of the Spartan institutions (v. 15-16).

The fact is, the whole of the subjects dealt with in the first seven chapters of this Third Book are just those in which Xenophon, the old campaigner and worshipper of efficiency, took a special interest. Ten passages in the conversations on the duties and qualifications of commanders are repeated from the *Cyropaedia*; and here and there the author of the *Anabasis* and the *Hipparchicus* reveals himself pretty clearly.

Nevertheless, the spirit of these dialogues, with their insistence on Knowledge as the only sure basis of efficiency, is genuinely Socratic. Nor does the rest of the Third Book, from c. viii. onwards, contain anything inconsistent with the Socrates of Plato's early dialogues. Thus the cross-examination of the artists in the tenth chapter is entirely in keeping with the Platonic Socrates, whose habit it is to appose all sorts and conditions of men respecting their special work. The amusing interview with Theodoté, the courtesan, is surprising in its context. The intention of it, apparently, is to show Socrates in a lighter vein, in the mood that we associate with the persiflage of a *Banquet*. The

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definitions in the ninth chapter are not alien to Socrates; but it may be that Xenophon drew them from the works of Antisthenes, whose opinions are known to have coincided with those expressed in them.

We may fairly accept as historical the explicit declaration in the *Defence* (l. ii. 4) that Socrates attached importance to physical culture. In the Dialogues of Plato, so far as I recollect, he does not display much real interest in the physical exercises of the wrestling-ground and the gymnasium; at any rate his chief interest is clearly in other matters when he enters those places. But in the *Republic* Plato on his part fully recognizes the value of "gymnastic" in education, and indeed builds up in his own way a complete theory of the subject. The germs of this theory may very well have come from Socrates himself. If that is true, then just as Plato develops the opinions of Socrates in his way, so Xenophon in the twelfth chapter of this book colours the same opinions with notions of his own, drawn from his experience in Asia, his admiration of Spartan institutions, and very likely, from his study of Antisthenes.

Lastly, what are we to say of the dispute with Aristippus about the Good and the Beautiful (c. viii.)? The truth of the account that Xenophon gives of Socrates' views on this matter must clearly be rejected if we suppose that Plato derived from Socrates himself the theory of eternal, unchanging Ideas or Forms of Goodness and Beauty; for, according to the Socrates of Xenophon nothing is good, beautiful or useful in *itself*, but only in relation to *something*. But it is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful whether Socrates is responsible for

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the "Theory of Forms or Ideas," which makes no appearance in the early Dialogues of Plato. The doctrine of the Xenophontine Socrates is that all things Good and Beautiful must contribute to the advantage or enjoyment of man: nothing is Good but what is Useful for the particular purpose for which it is intended. The very same doctrine is propounded by Socrates in the *Greater Hippias* (rightly or wrongly attributed to Plato), but on examination is rejected by him as untenable. But Plato in the *Gorgias* makes Socrates declare that a thing is Beautiful because it is pleasant or useful or both; and the doctrine is unchallenged. Lastly, there is a passage of similar import in the *First Alcibiades*. If the *Greater Hippias* was really written by Plato, it must be later in date than the *Gorgias*, but earlier than the Third Book of the *Memorabilia*; and Xenophon, assuming that he had read it, has tacitly implied that the views of Socrates are not correctly represented there. Whence did he derive his knowledge? If not from the *Gorgias*, it is very significant that his exposition agrees with what Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates in that Dialogue.

IV

We pass now to the Fourth Book. In the noble and impassioned peroration with which this book concludes, the virtues of Socrates are summed up. Socrates was pious, just, self-controlled and wise: he was masterly in exposition and definition, in refuting error and exhorting to goodness. This concluding sentence is clearly a summary of the contents of this Fourth Book in the form in which it has come down to us; and it is

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in itself a sufficient refutation of the widely held opinion that large portions of the Fourth Book are spurious. The peroration applies only to this last book ; at any rate it contains no reference to many of the topics that have been dealt with in the preceding portions of the collection, whereas it entirely covers the topics of the last. The natural inference is that the Fourth Book is yet another independent work.

This inference gains strong support from the actual contents of the book. The subject throughout is Education. Many topics already treated recur without any indication given that they have already been discussed. The style too differs to some extent from that of the preceding parts, in that it is somewhat fuller and more elaborate. The matter is arranged in an orderly fashion, in striking contrast with the desultory miscellany that makes up the latter part of the preceding book. Most of the conversations (c. ii., iii., v., vi.) are carried on with Euthydemus, a handsome, bookish and self-confident young man, eager to distinguish himself "in speech and action." The first of these conversations with the youth shows how Socrates convinced young men like Euthydemus that their essential need was to get real education. Next we are introduced to something like a complete system of Socratic education. The first object of Socrates was to make his followers "prudent," *i. e.* to train the character. Training in power to "speak and act" came after training of character, and it turns out presently that Socrates put speech and action in the inverse order of importance ; and, moreover, held that sound action could come only from one who was master of himself. Competence in "speech" depended on power to reason and to define correctly.

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We have seen that Euthydemus hoped to excel in "speech and action." Socrates brings him to see that the right way to attain the goal of his ambition is first to learn Prudence, then to realize what is the only sure foundation of right action, and lastly to study the laws of sound reasoning.

We should certainly have expected that throughout the book Socrates would have been represented as addressing himself to Euthydemus, and to none other. But this is, in fact, not the case. The fourth chapter contains an argument on Justice. If we regard the subject with which it deals, it is quite in place where it stands; but it is strange to find the series of hortatory discourses interrupted by an argument addressed to Hippias, the "sophist," on the identity of Law and Justice. Moreover, in the opening sentence of the seventh chapter Xenophon apparently disregards this argument with Hippias; and yet it is clear from the wording of the peroration, which is in exact correspondence with the topics of the discourses, that he had, when he wrote it, dealt with the topic of Justice.

All the conditions will be satisfied if we suppose that when he had written the fourth chapter down to the point where he was to relate what Socrates *said* about Justice by means of a dialogue (iv. 5), he incorporated this argument between Socrates and Hippias, which he had composed at some previous time, instead of writing a new dialogue in conformity with the others.

The talk with Hippias is in itself remarkable. For it represents Socrates as identifying Law and Justice. We have read in the *Defence* of Socrates (I. ii. 9) that Polycrates charged him with "despising the established laws," and we find that Xenophon

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there really makes no reply to that charge. Socrates, of course, insisted on obedience to the laws and held that "it was just to do what the laws ordain";¹ but that is a very different thing from saying that he thought the laws to be the embodiment of Justice. This latter opinion runs counter to the whole trend of the *Gorgias* of Plato, and is indeed not wholly consistent with what Socrates says in other parts of the *Memorabilia*. Plato's work may well have seemed to Xenophon to lend countenance to the very charge that he had failed to rebut in his own earlier work; and because Plato had written so, he may have felt it incumbent on him to come forward with an answer. He found a convenient place for its insertion here. It is really unconvincing as an exposition of Socrates' views on Justice, and the concluding sentence of the chapter does not square with it.

The fifth chapter brings us to that "efficiency in speech and action" coveted by such men as Euthydemus, and it turns out that Socrates put "action" before "speech." The secret and essential condition of efficiency in action was Prudence or Self-control.² The curious passage appended to this conversation, in which "sound reasoning," by a fanciful derivation, is declared to mean "sorting things out, and choosing what is right and rejecting what is wrong in speech and action," looks like a genuine, but rather crude, reminiscence of something actually said by Socrates, who was fond of such word-play.

As for "efficiency in speech," that is arrived at by

¹ Compare IV. vi. 5-6, where the question, "Is what the laws order necessarily just?" is entirely shirked.

² As a matter of convenience I have consistently rendered *σωφροσύνη* "prudence" in the translation.

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mastering the art of Reasoning ; and the art of Reasoning depends on correct definition of terms. Accordingly, in the sixth chapter we have a series of definitions. Some of these overlap the definitions contained in the ninth chapter of the Third Book ; but, as the Fourth Book is independent of the Third, the omission of all reference to the earlier passage need not cause surprise. There is much in this sixth chapter that certainly reflects the opinions of the historical Socrates ; but, as usual, the manner in which they are reflected is unmistakably Xenophontine. It is strange that there is nothing about Pleasure and its relation to the Good and Beautiful, seeing that this problem is handled by Plato already in the *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, which dialogues belong to his earlier or "Socratic" stage, and of which Xenophon certainly takes account in his Fourth Book. One cannot but suspect that, in thus ignoring the problem of Pleasure, Xenophon was influenced by the works of Antisthenes. The speculations on Pleasure attributed to Socrates by Plato were, no doubt, much too subtle for Xenophon, and they were, outwardly at least, inconsistent. It was wiser for a plain man to pass them by.

The superficial account of Socratic induction and assumption, or "hypothesis," with which the sixth chapter concludes (§§ 13-15) has raised a sharp dispute as to the sources of Xenophon's information. Is all this derived from Socrates himself, or is it gleaned from the *Phaedo* and, possibly, other dialogues of Plato ? The question admits of no certain answer. But if we assume that the information really comes from certain dialogues of Plato, then it is surely strange that Xenophon selected just this one point,

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“hypothesis,” from them, and ignored other theories—for instance, Knowledge as Recollection and the doctrine of Forms—that Plato in those same dialogues attributes, truly or falsely, to Socrates.

In the seventh chapter we come to mathematics and astronomy, and the views of Socrates thereon. We are told that he recommended the study of them for practical purposes only—just so far as they were “useful.” What Xenophon says is not inconsistent with the earlier Socrates of Plato, and can be brought into harmony with the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and, even with Plato’s *Phaedo*. It is, on the other hand, wholly inconsistent with the system of education that Socrates is made to recommend for the “Guardians” in the *Republic* of Plato. The very uncomplimentary reference to Anaxagoras (IV. vii. 6) is thought by some to be based on a famous passage of the *Phaedo*, in which Socrates expresses disappointment with the Anaxagorean theory of the classification of Matter by Mind. But it is difficult to think that Xenophon could have justified to himself the taunt he attributes to Socrates by the regretful complaint of the Platonic Socrates, or even that he was capable of building this insult on so slender a substructure.

In the sentence that immediately follows this passage about the sciences, Xenophon refers to the importance that Socrates attached to divination (§ 10). Then he argues that the belief in “the divine voice”—the belief that gave rise to the charge of introducing strange gods—was no delusion, and finally launches out into a noble description of the attitude of Socrates towards his trial and condemnation. The total effect of this epilogue is not greatly marred by one serious blemish it exhibits—the series of futile

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questions,¹ so characteristic of our author at his worst, in the third section of the last chapter.

Although this Fourth Book was written a generation after the death of Socrates, the tone of the peroration is still controversial. The object of Xenophon throughout the book is to prove that the system of education inculcated by Socrates was the best possible; that Socrates was himself the embodiment of that system, and was therefore the pattern of a good and happy man. Clearly there were many still who maintained that the infamous Critias² had been trained by Socrates, and that this fact was enough to condemn the system. Nor can it escape notice that the depreciation of the higher mathematics and other sciences in the seventh chapter, and the sharp limitation of scientific studies by Socrates in the training of himself that is implied in the peroration,³ are argumentative. Evidently, even after so long a time, controversy about Socrates had not been silenced, and there was still something to be done for his memory by an ardent believer.

V

The chronological relationship of the *Oeconomicus* to Xenophon's other Socratic writings cannot be

¹ Similar questions, in which the obvious is put in the form of a conundrum, are often attributed to Socrates by Xenophon. They are, of course, invariably the product of Xenophon's own mind.

² Aeschines, *against Timarchus*, § 173.

³ The passage in the peroration referring to chapter seven is, "So wise that he was unerring in his judgment of the better and the worse and needed no counsellor, but relied on himself for his knowledge of them."

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established with confidence. Certain linguistic indications point to a date earlier than the *Memorabilia*; but the tone of the work, calm and detached from controversy, strongly suggests that it was at least put into its final shape after the so-called Fourth Book of that work was written. The thoughts and reflections, whether put into the mouth of Socrates or Ischomachus, are so entirely Xenophon's own that we may wonder why he did not frankly produce a treatise on the management of an estate instead of a Socratic dialogue. And it is evident that he found the dialogue form which he selected inconvenient. Socrates by this time was clearly a literary figure, and almost any amount of freedom might be taken with his name. But at least some measure of verisimilitude must be kept up; and to represent Socrates, the wandering philosopher, as a landowner, an authority on household craft, land development and agriculture, devoted to his home, would carry the author too far away from the truth. An ingenious compromise suggested itself. What was impossible in the mouth of Socrates might be put into the mouth of another, and reported by Socrates. But this other person must be a man of standing and of mature years, and therefore could not be Xenophon himself, who had no established position during the life of Socrates. Hence Ischomachus. According to Plutarch this worthy but self-complacent gentleman is a historic personage; but little credence attaches to the kind of story that he tells. Anyhow, Ischomachus, as he appears in this book, is quite clearly Xenophon—Xenophon home from the wars, living happily and prosperously on his own estate at Scillus.

The beginning and end of the *Oeconomicus* are as
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abrupt as the end of Borrow's *Lavengro* and the beginning of *The Romany Rye*. Even the name of Socrates is not given in the first few sentences: he is referred to as if he had been already mentioned; and there is no epilogue. But of course this does not show, as Galen supposed, that we have here a continuation of the *Memorabilia*, intended to follow on the Fourth Book. The second portion of the *Memorabilia* ends (II. x.) and the third portion opens (III. i.) and ends (III. xiv.) with similar abruptness. We may group the *Oeconomicus* with these miscellaneous dialogues, doubtless not all composed at the same time, that make up the Third Book of the *Memorabilia*. The plan of the work is curious, for the first six chapters form a lengthy preamble to the reported conversation with Ischomachus. The work must of course not be judged as though it were a complete treatise on Estate Management, indoor and outdoor. That is precisely what Xenophon has not chosen to write. The practical value, therefore, of the teaching is not anything like so great as that of the treatise *On Horsemanship*. But so far as it goes, the teaching is sound--for it is not certain that Xenophon believed that straw added to the manurial value, as well as to the bulk, of our old friends from farmyard and stable.¹

The abiding interest of the book, however, lies less in the edification it offers and in its literary merit (which is not great), than in the light that it sheds on Xenophon's intimate life, his tastes and pursuits. Readers will differ in their opinion of that paragon "Ischomachus." None will object to his having his boots and his pots and

¹ See xviii. 2, where εἰς κόπρον ἐμβληθὲν means "thrown on the manure heap," not "applied (to the land) as manure."

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pans neatly set out in rows; but some will mock with the wits at his notion that there was any particular beauty in the spectacle afforded by these homely articles so carefully bestowed. However that may be, one cannot but sympathize with that long-suffering little saint, his wife, the most arresting figure in Xenophon's gallery of women. We glance at Theodoté in the *Memorabilia* and Syennesis in the *Anabasis*, and we linger for a time over Panthea in the *Cyropaedia*; but we return again and again to this unnamed heroine of the household.

This unnamed heroine! But Ischomachus is Xenophon, and the little lady is wife of Ischomachus—that is she is Xenophon's wife, Philesia. "My dear, where is it?" asked her methodical husband; and Philesia, not knowing the answer, could only hang her head and blush. So she had to listen to a long homily on the beauty of *order* in the house, with illustrations drawn from the army and the navy. It is pleasant to know, that henceforward, at least in one home at Scillus, regimental order reigned among the household paraphernalia, from the boots to the works of art.

And this regimental order in his house is the mirror of Xenophon's mind; for his mind is a series of labelled pigeon-holes, each hole filled with a commonplace thought remorselessly analysed. These elementary thoughts he produces again and again, for his reader's edification.

The *Oeconomicus* was reviewed and criticized by the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, an elder contemporary of Cicero, in his treatise *On Vices and their Opposite Virtues*, but only a small part of what he had to say has survived, recovered from the ashes of Herculaneum. Further it was translated into

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Latin by Cicero¹ in the days of his youth: it was familiar to the Roman writers on agriculture, including Virgil, was admired and imitated by the Italians of the Renaissance, and in our own times has found a doughty champion in Ruskin. Xenophon writes with an infectious enthusiasm, and with that easy charm of manner and diction of which he is a great master. But as with his thoughts, so with his words: he too often irritates the reader by incessant repetition of the same pattern of sentence, of the same formula, and even of the same word. How prone Xenophon is to repetition may be judged from the many references added in the translation of both *Memorabilia* and *Oeconomicus* to other works; and of course these references are not exhaustive. His mind moves in a narrow circle of ideas. But he is master of an extensive and multifarious vocabulary; so that it is strange that he constantly uses the same word over and over again in the compass of a few lines. A translator is often compelled to have recourse to synonyms.

¹ There is some ground for the conjecture that in the time of Philodemus and Cicero an edition of the *Oeconomicus* divided into four books existed.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

I. Of the Greek text the following papyrus fragments have been discovered:—

1. *Mem.* I. iii. 15, IV. i. 3, third or fourth century A.D. (Grenfell and Hunt, II., the original in the British Museum).
2. *Mem.* II. i. 5–16, first or second century A.D. (Vitelli, *Papiri greci e latini*, II.).
3. *Oec.* ii. 8–17; ix. 2, first century A.D. (G. and H., II.).

The best manuscripts are the following:—

1. *Memorabilia*:

- A. (*Parisinus*, 1302), thirteenth century, containing only Books I. and II.
- B. (*Parisinus*, 1740), fourteenth century.

These represent two different classes. Between them, but nearer to B, stand:

- C. (*Parisinus*, 1642).
- D. (*Parisinus*, 1643), fifteenth century.
- M. (*Marcianus*, 511), thirteenth century.

2. *Oeconomicus*:

- E. (*Laurentianus*, lxxx. 13), thirteenth century.
- M. (*Lipsiensis*, 9), fourteenth century, wanting c. xii. 9 to xix. 16.
- F. (*Laurentianus*, lxxxv. 9), thirteenth century.
- V. (*Marcianus*, 511), thirteenth century.
- H. (*Reginensis*, 96), twelfth or thirteenth century.

II. Principal Editions:—

(a) *Complete Works of Xenophon.*

JUNTA: Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps.*

ALDUS: Venice, 1525.

STEPHANUS, H.: Geneva, 1561 and 1581.

LENKLAU, J.: Frankfurt, 1594; 2nd ed. with notes of Aemilius Portius, 1596.

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MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

ZEUNE, J. C. : Leipzig, 1778–
SCHNEIDER, J. G. : Leipzig, 1790–
WEISKE, B. : Leipzig, 1798–
SCHAEFFER, G. H. : Leipzig, 1811–
DINDORF, L. : Leipzig, 1824–
SCHNEIDER and DINDORF : Oxford, 1810–
SAUPPE, G. : Leipzig, 1865–
MARCHANT, E. C. : Oxford, 1900–

(b) *Separate Editions with Commentaries.*

(i) *Of the Memorabilia :*

BREITENBACH, L. : Berlin, 1854.
KÜHNER, R. : Gotha, 1858.

(ii) *Of the Oeconomicus :*

BREITENBACH, L. : Berlin, 1841.
HOLDEN, H. A. : London, 1884.

(c) The best German critical edition of the *Memorabilia* next is Gilbert's (Berlin, 1888–); of the *Oeconomicus*, Thalheim's (Berlin, 1910).

Very important work on the MSS. was done by Karl Schenkl, and has been continued by his son. A recent work of great value is A. W. Persson's *Zur Textgeschichte Xenophons*.

The above list is, of course, very far from being complete, and does not even include reference to some scholars of the first rank, such as Cobet and J. J. Hartman, who have dealt with the text.

The present edition follows the text of G. Sauppe, except where stated in the footnotes.

Recent work includes the following:

Memorabilia.

Ed. Maior. C. Hude. Leipzig, Teubner, 1934.

Oeconomicus.

Text and French translation (Budé), P. Chantraine. Paris, 1949.

Banquet and Socrates' Defence.

Text and French Translation (Budé), F. Ollier. Paris, 1961.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ

Α

I. Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα, τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην, ὥς ἄξιός εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφή κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν· Ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

- 2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὥς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποίῳ ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίῳ; θύων τε γὰρ φανερὸς ἦν πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ¹ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν καὶ μαντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν· διετεθρύλητο γάρ, ὥς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια
- 3 εἰσφέρειν. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι μαντικὴν νομίζοντες οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις. οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐ τοὺς ὄρνιθας εὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ

¹ καὶ A : Sauppe omits.

XENOPHON'S MEMORABILIA

BOOK I

I. I HAVE often wondered by what arguments those who drew up the indictment against Socrates could persuade the Athenians that his life was forfeit to the state. The indictment against him was to this effect: *Socrates is guilty of rejecting the gods acknowledged by the state and of bringing in strange deities: he is also guilty of corrupting the youth.*

First then, that he rejected the gods acknowledged by the state—what evidence did they produce of that? He offered sacrifices constantly, and made no secret of it, now in his home, now at the altars of the state temples, and he made use of divination with as little secrecy. Indeed it had become notorious that Socrates claimed to be guided by 'the deity'¹: it was out of this claim, I think, that the charge of bringing in strange deities arose. He was no more bringing in anything strange than 3 are other believers in divination, who rely on augury, oracles, coincidences and sacrifices. For these men's belief is not that the birds or the folk met by accident know what profits the inquirer, but that they are the instruments by which the gods make

¹ That immanent 'divine something,' as Cicero terms it, which Socrates claimed as his peculiar possession.

- 4 σημαίνειν, καὶ κεῖνος δὲ οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν. ἀλλ' οἱ
 μὲν πλείστοί φασιν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν
 ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι·
 Σωκράτης δ' ὥσπερ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὕτως ἔλεγε· τὸ
 δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἔφη σημαίνειν. καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν
 συνόντων προηγόρευε τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ
 ποιεῖν, ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος. καὶ
 τοῖς μὲν πειθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ
 5 πειθομένοις μετέμελε. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμο-
 λογήσειεν αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μήτ' ἡλίθιον μήτ'
 ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοῦσιν; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν
 ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ
 φαινόμενα ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι
 οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν.
 ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλῳ πιστεύσειεν ἢ θεῷ;
 πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν;
 6 ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίει καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους.
 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν,
 ὡς νομίζοιεν ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο μαντευσομένους
 7 ἔπεμπεν, εἰ ποιητέα· καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους
 τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκήσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη
 προσδεῖσθαι· τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἢ χαλκευτικὸν
 ἢ γεωργικὸν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὸν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων
 ἔργων ἐξεταστικὸν ἢ λογιστικὸν ἢ οἰκονομικὸν ἢ
 στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθή-
 ματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι·
 8 τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γάρ τοι τῷ καλῶς ἀγρὸν
 φυτευσαμένῳ δῆλον, ὅστις καρπώσεται, οὔτε

this known; and that was Socrates' belief too. Only, whereas most men say that the birds or the 4 folk they meet dissuade or encourage them, Socrates said what he meant: for he said that the deity gave him a sign. Many of his companions were counselled by him to do this or not to do that in accordance with the warnings of the deity: and those who followed his advice prospered, and those who rejected it had cause for regret. And yet who would 5 not admit that he wished to appear neither a knave nor a fool to his companions? but he would have been thought both, had he proved to be mistaken when he alleged that his counsel was in accordance with divine revelation. Obviously, then, he would not have given the counsel if he had not been confident that what he said would come true. And who could have inspired him with that confidence but a god? And since he had confidence in the gods, how can he have disbelieved in the existence of the gods? Another way he had of dealing with 6 intimate friends was this: if there was no room for doubt, he advised them to act as they thought best; but if the consequences could not be foreseen, he sent them to the oracle to inquire whether the thing ought to be done. Those who intended to 7 control a house or a city, he said, needed the help of divination. For the craft of carpenter, smith, farmer or ruler, and the theory of such crafts, and arithmetic and economics and generalship might be learned and mastered by the application of human powers; but the deepest secrets of these matters 8 the gods reserved to themselves; they were dark to men. You may plant a field well; but you know not who shall gather the fruits: you may build a

τῷ καλῶς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ δῆλον, ὅστις ἐνοικήσει, οὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει τῆς πόλεως προστατεῖν, οὔτε τῷ καλὴν γῆμαντι, ἵν' εὐφραίνεται, δῆλον, εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται, οὔτε τῷ δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον, εἰ διὰ τούτους στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως.

9 τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης δαιμονῶν ἔφη· δαιμονῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν, οἷον εἴ τις ἐπερωτῶν, πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἢ νιοχεῖν ἐπὶ ζευγος λαβεῖν κρεῖττον ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ἢ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ἢ ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναι, τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιτα ποιεῖν ἡγείτο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθάνειν, ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ πειρᾶσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ οἷς ἂν ὥσιν ἴλεω σημαίνειν.

10 Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός γε αἰεὶ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερώ· πρῶί τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἦν καὶ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερός ἦν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσεσθαι· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν ὥς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βου-

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 6.

house well; but you know not who shall dwell in it: able to command, you cannot know whether it is profitable to command: versed in statecraft, you know not whether it is profitable to guide the state: though, for your delight, you marry a pretty woman, you cannot tell whether she will bring you sorrow: though you form a party among men mighty in the state, you know not whether they will cause you to be driven from the state. If any 9 man thinks that these matters are wholly within the grasp of the human mind and nothing in them is beyond our reason, that man, he said, is irrational. But it is no less irrational to seek the guidance of heaven in matters which men are permitted by the gods to decide for themselves by study: to ask, for instance, Is it better to get an experienced coachman to drive my carriage or a man without experience? ¹ Is it better to get an experienced seaman to steer my ship or a man without experience? So too with what we may know by reckoning, measurement or weighing. To put such questions to the gods seemed to his mind profane. In short, what the gods have granted us to do by help of learning, we must learn; what is hidden from mortals we should try to find out from the gods by divination: for to him that is in their grace the gods grant a sign.

Moreover, Socrates lived ever in the open; for 10 early in the morning he went to the public promenades and training-grounds; in the forenoon he was seen in the market; and the rest of the day he passed just where most people were to be met: he was generally talking, and anyone might listen. Yet none ever knew him to offend against piety

- 11 λομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν. οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως ἥπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι διελέγετο σκοπῶν, ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔφν καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας
- 12 τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἤδη τὰνθρώπινα εἶδέναι ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπεια παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσή-
- 13 κοντα πράττειν. ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερόν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταῦτ' ἀδοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς
- 14 ἀλλήλους. τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχροὺς εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὔθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι. τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε κινήθῃναι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὔτ' ἄν γενέσθαι ποτὲ
- 15 οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.¹ ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τάδε, ἅρ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰνθρώπεια μανθάνοντες

and religion in deed or word. He did not even 11
 discuss that topic so favoured by other talkers,
 "the Nature of the Universe": and avoided specu-
 lation on the so-called "Cosmos" of the Professors,
 how it works, and on the laws that govern the
 phenomena of the heavens: indeed he would argue
 that to trouble one's mind with such problems is
 sheer folly. In the first place, he would inquire, 12
 did these thinkers suppose that their knowledge of
 human affairs was so complete that they must seek
 these new fields for the exercise of their brains; or
 that it was their duty to neglect human affairs and
 consider only things divine? Moreover, he mar- 13
 velled at their blindness in not seeing that man
 cannot solve these riddles; since even the most
 conceited talkers on these problems did not agree
 in their theories, but behaved to one another like
 madmen. As some madmen have no fear of danger 14
 and others are afraid where there is nothing to be
 afraid of, as some will do or say anything in a crowd
 with no sense of shame, while others shrink even
 from going abroad among men, some respect neither
 temple nor altar nor any other sacred thing, others
 worship stocks and stones and beasts, so is it, he
 held, with those who worry with "Universal Nature."
 Some hold that *What is* is one, others that it is
 infinite in number: some that all things are in
 perpetual motion, others that nothing can ever be
 moved at any time: some that all life is birth and
 decay, others that nothing can ever be born or ever
 die. Nor were those the only questions he asked 15
 about such theorists. Students of human nature, he

¹ ἀπολέσθαι Stobaeus: ἀπολεῖσθαι Sauppe.

ἡγούνται τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἂν μάθωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται ποιήσῃν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὰν γνῶσιν, αἷς ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται, ποιήσῃν, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὥρας καὶ ὅτου ἂν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γνῶναι μόνον, ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται.

- 16 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματομενόντων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αἰεὶ διελέγετο σκοπῶν, τί εὖσεβές, τί ἀσεβές, τί καλόν, τί αἰσχρόν, τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον, τί σωφροσύνη, τί μανία, τί ἀνδρεία, τί δειλία, τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός, τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότες ἡγείτο καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδώδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκλήσθαι.
- 17 “Ὅσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὅπως ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραγνῶναι τοὺς δικαστάς· ὅσα δὲ πάντες ᾗδεσαν, οὐ
- 18 θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν; βουλευσας γάρ ποτε καὶ τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὄρκον ὁμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐννέα στρατηγούς μὴ ψήφῳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλλον καὶ Ἐρασινίδην ἀποκτείνειν πάντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσειν, ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων· ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείονος ἐποίησατο

said, think that they will apply their knowledge in due course for the good of themselves and any others they choose. Do those who pry into heavenly phenomena imagine that, once they have discovered the laws by which these are produced, they will create at their will winds, waters, seasons and such things to their need? Or have they no such expectation, and are they satisfied with knowing the causes of these various phenomena?

Such, then, was his criticism of those who meddle 16 with these matters. His own conversation was ever of human things. The problems he discussed were, What is godly, what is ungodly; what is beautiful, what is ugly; what is just, what is unjust; what is prudence, what is madness; what is courage, what is cowardice; what is a state, what is a statesman; what is government, and what is a governor;—these and others like them, of which the knowledge made a “gentleman,” in his estimation, while ignorance should involve the reproach of “slavishness.”

So, in pronouncing on opinions of his that were 17 unknown to them it is not surprising that the jury erred: but is it not astonishing that they should have ignored matters of common knowledge? For 18 instance, when he was on the Council and had taken the counsellor's oath by which he bound himself to give counsel in accordance with the laws, it fell to his lot to preside in the Assembly when the people wanted to condemn Thrasyllus and Erasinides and their colleagues to death by a single vote. That was illegal, and he refused the motion in spite of popular rancour and the threats of many powerful persons. It was more to him that he should keep his oath than that he should humour

19 εὐορκεῖν ἢ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ὃν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης δὲ πάντα μὲν ἡγείτο θεοὺς εἰδέναι, τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ σιγῇ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ σημαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων.

20 Θαυμάζω οὖν, ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπείσθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ποτε περὶ θεοὺς οὔτ' εἰπόντα οὔτε πράξαντα, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα [περὶ θεῶν], οἷά τις ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων εἴη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὐσεβέστατος.

II. Θαυμαστὸν δὲ φαίνεται μοι καὶ τὸ πεισθῆ-
ναί τινας, ὡς Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν, ὃς
πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις πρῶτον μὲν ἀφροδισίων καὶ
γαστρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγκρατέστατος ἦν,
εἶτα πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος καὶ πάντας πόνους
καρτερικώτατος, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δεῖσθαι
πεπαιδευμένος οὕτως, ὥστε πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος
2 πάνυ ῥαδίως ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα. πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς ὢν
τοιούτος ἄλλους ἂν ἢ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ παρανόμους ἢ
λίχνους ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἀκρατεῖς ἢ πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν
μαλακοὺς ἐποίησεν; ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων
πολλοὺς, ἀρετῆς ποιήσας ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ἐλπίδας
παρασχών, ἂν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελῶνται, καλοὺς
3 καγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι γε οὐδεπώποτε
ὑπέσχετο διδάσκαλος εἶναι τούτου, ἀλλὰ τῷ
φανερὸς εἶναι τοιούτος ὢν ἐλπίζειν ἐποίει τοὺς

the people in an unjust demand and shield himself from threats. For, like most men, indeed, he be- 19
lieved that the gods are heedful of mankind, but with an important difference; for whereas they do not believe in the omniscience of the gods, Socrates thought that they know all things, our words and deeds and secret purposes; that they are present everywhere, and grant signs to men of all that concerns man.¹

I wonder, then, how the Athenians can have been 20
persuaded that Socrates was a freethinker, when he never said or did anything contrary to sound religion, and his utterances about the gods and his behaviour towards them were the words and actions of a man who is truly religious and deserves to be thought so.

II. No less wonderful is it to me that some believed the charge brought against Socrates of corrupting the youth. In the first place, apart from what I have said, in control of his own passions and appetites he was the strictest of men; further, in endurance of cold and heat and every kind of toil he was most resolute; and besides, his needs were so schooled to moderation that having very little he was yet very content. Such was his own character: how then 2
can he have led others into impiety, crime, gluttony, lust, or sloth? On the contrary, he cured these vices in many, by putting into them a desire for goodness, and by giving them confidence that self-discipline would make them gentlemen. To be sure 3
he never professed to teach this; but, by letting his own light shine, he led his disciples to hope that

¹ IV. iii, 2; *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 46.

- συνδιατρίβοντας ἑαυτῷ μιμουμένους ἐκείνους τοιού-
 4 τους γενήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ σώματος
 αὐτός τε οὐκ ἡμέλει τούς τ' ἀμελοῦντας οὐκ
 ἐπὶναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπερεσθίοντα ὑπερπονεῖν
 ἀπεδοκίμαζε, τὸ δὲ ὅσα γ' ἡδέως ἡ ψυχὴ δέχεται,
 ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἐκπονεῖν ἐδοκίμαζε. ταύτην γὰρ
 τὴν ἕξιν ὑγιεινὴν τε ἱκανῶς εἶναι καὶ τὴν τῆς
 5 ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν οὐκ ἐμποδίζειν ἔφη. ἀλλ' οὐ
 μὴν θρυπτικός γε οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικός ἦν οὔτ'
 ἀμπεχόνη οὔθ' ὑποδέσει οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ.
 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐρασιχρημάτους γε τοὺς συνόντας
 ἐποίει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἔπαυε,
 τοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐκ ἐπράττετο
 6 χρήματα. τούτου δ' ἀπεχόμενος ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευ-
 θερίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς
 ὁμιλίας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει
 διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ'
 7 ὧν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν. ἐθαύμαζε δ', εἴ τις
 ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πρᾶττοιο καὶ
 μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος ἕξιν φίλον ἀγαθὸν
 κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβοῖτο, μὴ ὁ γενόμενος καλὸς
 καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν
 8 μεγίστην χάριν ἔξοι. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐπηγγείλατο
 μὲν οὐδενὶ πώποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἐπίστευε δὲ
 τῶν συνόντων ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἀποδεξαμένους ἅπερ
 αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἰς τὸν πάντα βίον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ
 ἀλλήλοις φίλους ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν
 ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ διαφθείρῃ τοὺς νέους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα
 ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστίν.
 9 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, ὑπερορᾶν ἐποίει
 τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας λέγων, ὥς
 μῶρον εἶη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ

they through imitation of him would attain to such excellence. Furthermore, he himself never neglected the body, and reproved such neglect in others. Thus over-eating followed by over-exertion he disapproved. But he approved of taking as much hard exercise as is agreeable to the soul¹; for the habit not only insured good health, but did not hamper the care of the soul. On the other hand, he disliked foppery and pretentiousness in the fashion of clothes or shoes or in behaviour. Nor, again, did he encourage love of money in his companions. For while he checked their other desires, he would not make money himself out of their desire for his companionship. He held that this self-denying ordinance insured his liberty. Those who charged a fee for their society he denounced for selling themselves into bondage; since they were bound to converse with all from whom they took the fee. He marvelled that anyone should make money by the profession of virtue, and should not reflect that his highest reward would be the gain of a good friend; as though he who became a true gentleman could fail to feel deep gratitude for a benefit so great. Socrates indeed never promised any such boon to anyone; but he was confident that those of his companions who adopted his principles of conduct would throughout life be good friends to him and to one another. How, then, should such a man "corrupt the youth"? Unless, perchance, it be corruption to foster virtue.

But, said his accuser, he taught his companions to despise the established laws by insisting on the folly of appointing public officials by lot, when none

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 17.

- κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτη δὲ μηδένα ἐθέλειν
 χρῆσθαι κυαμευτῷ μηδὲ τέκτονι μηδ' αὐλητῇ μηδ'
 ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἃ πολλῷ ἐλάττονας βλάβας
 ἀμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτα-
 νομένων· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λόγους ἐπαίρειν ἔφη
 τοὺς νέους καταφρονεῖν τῆς καθεστῶσης πολιτείας
 10 καὶ ποιεῖν βιαίους. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τοὺς φρόνησιν
 ἀσκούντας καὶ νομίζοντας ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι¹ τὰ
 συμφέροντα διδάσκειν τοὺς πολίτας ἥκιστα
 γίγνεσθαι βιαίους, εἰδότας, ὅτι τῇ μὲν βίᾳ
 πρόσεισιν ἔχθραι καὶ κίνδυνοι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πείθειν
 ἀκινδύνως τε καὶ μετὰ φιλίας ταῦτα γίγνεται.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιασθέντες ὡς ἀφαιρεθέντες μισοῦσιν,
 οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ὡς κεχαρισμένοι φιλοῦσιν.
 οὐκ οὖν τῶν φρόνησιν ἀσκούντων τὸ βιάζεσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰσχὺν ἄνευ γνώμης ἐχόντων [τὰ τοιαῦτα
 11 πράττειν] ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ συμμάχων ὁ μὲν
 βιάζεσθαι τολμῶν δέοιτ' ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγων, ὁ δὲ
 πείθειν δυνάμενος οὐδενός· καὶ γὰρ μόνος ἡγοῖτ'
 ἂν δύνασθαι πείθειν. καὶ φονεύειν δὲ τοῖς τοιού-
 τοις ἥκιστα συμβαίνει· τίς γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα
 βούλοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντι πειθομένῳ χρῆσθαι;
 12 Ἄλλ' ἔφη γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὁμίλητᾷ
 γενομένῳ Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα
 κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησάτην. Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ
 τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων κλεπτίστατός τε
 καὶ βιαιότατος καὶ φονικώτατος ἐγένετο, Ἀλκι-
 βιάδης δὲ αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρα-
 τέστατός τε καὶ ὑβριστότατος καὶ βιαιότατος.
 13 ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἐκείνῳ τὴν πόλιν
 ἐποίησάτην, οὐκ ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν δὲ πρὸς

would choose a pilot or builder or flautist by lot, nor any other craftsman for work in which mistakes are far less disastrous than mistakes in statecraft. Such sayings, he argued, led the young to despise the established constitution and made them violent. But I hold¹ that they who cultivate wisdom and 10 think they will be able to guide the people in prudent policy never lapse into violence: they know that enmities and dangers are inseparable from violence, but persuasion produces the same results safely and amicably. For violence, by making its victims sensible of loss, rouses their hatred: but persuasion, by seeming to confer a favour, wins goodwill. It is not, then, cultivation of wisdom that leads to violent methods, but the possession of power without prudence. Besides, many sup- 11 porters are necessary to him who ventures to use force: but he who can persuade needs no confederate, having confidence in his own unaided power of persuasion. And such a man has no occasion to shed blood; for who would rather take a man's life than have a live and willing follower?

But his accuser argued thus. Among the 12 associates of Socrates were Critias and Alcibiades; and none wrought so many evils to the state. For Critias in the days of the oligarchy bore the palm for greed and violence: Alcibiades, for his part, exceeded all in licentiousness and insolence under the democracy. Now I have no intention of excusing 13 the wrong these two men wrought the state; but I

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. iv. 21.

¹ ἔσεσθαι MSS.: εἶναι Sauppe.

- Σωκράτην συνουσίαν αὐτοῖν ὥς ἐγένετο διηγή-
 14 σομαι. ἐγενέσθην μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἄνδρι τούτῳ
 φύσει φιλοτιμοτάτῳ πάντων Ἀθηναίων βουλομένῳ
 τε πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττεσθαι καὶ πάντων
 ὀνομαστοτάτῳ γενέσθαι. ἤδεσαν δὲ Σωκράτην
 ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων μὲν χρημάτων αὐταρκέστατα
 ζῶντα, τῶν ἡδονῶν δὲ πασῶν ἐγκρατέστατον ὄντα,
 τοῖς δὲ διαλεγομένοις αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρώμενον ἐν τοῖς
 15 λόγοις ὅπως βούλοιτο. ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντε καὶ ὄντε
 οἷω προεῖρησθον, πότερόν τις αὐτῷ φῆ τοῦ βίου
 τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐπιθυμήσαντε καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης,
 ἣν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν, ὀρέξασθαι τῆς ὀμιλίας αὐτοῦ ἢ
 νομίσαντε, εἰ ὀμιλησαίτην ἐκείνῳ, γενέσθαι ἂν
 16 ἱκανωτάτῳ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
 ἡγοῦμαι, θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖς ἢ ζῆν ὅλον τὸν βίον
 ὥσπερ ζῶντα Σωκράτην ἐώρων ἢ τεθνάναι, ἐλέσθαι
 ἂν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τεθνάναι. δήλω δ' ἐγενέσθην ἐξ
 ὧν ἐπραξάτην· ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα κρείττονε τῶν
 συγγιγνομένων ἡγησάσθην εἶναι, εὐθύς ἀποπηδή-
 σαντε Σωκράτους ἐπραττέτην τὰ πολιτικά, ὧν περ
 ἕνεκα Σωκράτους ὠρεχθήτην.
 17 Ἴσως οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐχρῆν
 τὸν Σωκράτην μὴ πρότερον τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκειν
 τοὺς συνόντας ἢ σωφρονεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο
 μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω· πάντας δὲ τοὺς διδάσκοντας
 ὁρῶ αὐτοὺς δεικνύντας τε τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἢ περ
 αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἅ διδάσκουσι, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσ-
 18 βιβάζοντας. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δεικνύντα τοῖς
 συνοῦσιν ἑαυτὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ διαλεγό-
 μενον κάλλιστα περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀνθρωπίνων. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ σωφρονοῦντε, ἔστε
 Σωκράτει συνήστην, οὐ φοβουμένῳ, μὴ ζημιοῖντο

will explain how they came to be with Socrates. Ambition was the very life-blood of both: no 14 Athenian was ever like them. They were eager to get control of everything and to outstrip every rival in notoriety. They knew that Socrates was living on very little, and yet was wholly independent; that he was strictly moderate in all his pleasures; and that in argument he could do what he liked with any disputant. Sharing this knowledge and the principles 15 I have indicated, is it to be supposed that these two men wanted to adopt the simple life of Socrates, and with this object in view sought his society? Did they not rather think that by associating with him they would attain the utmost proficiency in speech and action? For my part 16 I believe that, had heaven granted them the choice between the life they saw Socrates leading and death, they would have chosen rather to die. Their conduct betrayed their purpose; for as soon as they thought themselves superior to their fellow-disciples they sprang away from Socrates and took to politics; it was for political ends that they had wanted Socrates.

But it may be answered: Socrates should have 17 taught his companions prudence before politics. I do not deny it; but I find that all teachers show their disciples how they themselves practise what they teach, and lead them on by argument. And I know that it was so with Socrates: he showed his companions that he was a gentleman himself, and talked most excellently of goodness and of all things that concern man. I know further that even those 18 two were prudent so long as they were with Socrates,

ἢ παίονται ὑπὸ Σωκράτους, ἀλλ' οἰομένω τότε
κράτιστον εἶναι τοῦτο πράττειν.

- 19 Ἴσως οὖν εἴποιεν ἂν πολλοὶ τῶν φασκόντων
φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁ δίκαιος ἄδικος
γένοιτο οὐδὲ ὁ σώφρων ὑβριστῆς οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν
ὧν μάθησίς ἐστιν ὁ μαθὼν ἀνεπιστήμων ἂν ποτε
γένοιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τούτων οὐχ οὕτω γιγνώσκω·
ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τὰ
σώματα ἀσκούντας οὐ δυναμένους ποιεῖν, οὕτω
καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν
ἀσκούντας οὐ δυναμένους· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν δεῖ πράττειν
20 οὔτε ὧν δεῖ ἀπέχεσθαι δύνανται. διὸ καὶ τοὺς
υἱεῖς οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ὧσι σώφρονες, ὅμως ἀπὸ
τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἵργουσιν, ὡς τὴν μὲν
τῶν χρηστῶν ὁμιλίαν ἀσκησιν οὔσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς,
τὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κατάλυσιν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ
τῶν ποιητῶν ὅ τε λέγων,

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξει· ἣν δὲ
κακοῖσι

συμμίσγης, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν εὐντα νόον·

καὶ ὁ λέγων,

Αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ'
ἐσθλός.

- 21 Καὶ γὰρ δὲ μαρτυρῶ τούτοις· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν
ἐν μέτρῳ πεποιημένων ἐπῶν τοὺς μὴ μελετῶντας
ἐπιλανθανομένους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν διδασκαλικῶν
λόγων τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι λήθην ἐγγιγνομένην. ὅταν
δὲ τῶν νοουθετικῶν λόγων ἐπιλάβηται τις, ἐπιλέ-
λησται καὶ ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ πάσχουσα τῆς σωφρο-
σύνης ἐπεθύμει· τούτων δ' ἐπιλαθόμενον οὐδὲν

not from fear of fine or blow, but because at that time they really believed in prudent conduct.

But many self-styled lovers of wisdom may reply : 19
A just man can never become unjust; a prudent man can never become wanton; in fact no one having learned any kind of knowledge can become ignorant of it. I do not hold with this view.¹ I notice that as those who do not train the body cannot perform the functions proper to the body, so those who do not train the soul cannot perform the functions of the soul : for they cannot do what they ought to do nor avoid what they ought not to do. For this cause fathers try to keep their sons, even if 20 they are prudent lads, out of bad company : for the society of honest men is a training in virtue, but the society of the bad is virtue's undoing. As one of the poets says :

“From the good shalt thou learn good things; but if thou minglest with the bad thou shalt lose even what thou hast of wisdom.”²

And another says :

“Ah, but a good man is at one time noble, at another base.”³

My testimony agrees with theirs; for I see that, 21 just as poetry is forgotten unless it is often repeated, so instruction, when no longer heeded, fades from the mind. To forget good counsel is to forget the experiences that prompted the soul to desire prudence : and when those are forgotten, it is not

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VII. v. 75. Against Antisthenes.

² Theognis.

³ Author unknown.

- θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιλαθέσθαι.
- 22 ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς εἰς φιλοποσίαν προαχθέντας καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἔρωτας ἐκκυλισθέντας ἥττον δυναμένους τῶν τε δεόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντων ἀπέχεσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμενοι φείδεσθαι, πρὶν ἐρᾶν, ἐρασθέντες οὐκέτι δύνανται καὶ τὰ χρήματα καταναλώσαντες ὧν πρόσθεν ἀπείχοντο κερδῶν, αἰσχρὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι, τού-
- 23 των οὐκ ἀπέχονται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται σωφρονήσαντα πρόσθεν αὐθις μὴ σωφρονεῖν καὶ δίκαια δυνηθέντα πράττειν αὐθις ἀδυνατεῖν; πάντα μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰγαθὰ ἀσκητὰ εἶναι, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ σωφροσύνη. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι συμπεφυτευμέναι τῇ ψυχῇ αἱ ἡδوناὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὴν μὴ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἑαυταῖς τε καὶ τῷ σώματι χαρίζεσθαι.
- 24 Καὶ Κριτίας δὴ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἕως μὲν Σωκράτει συνήστην, ἐδυνάσθην ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῳ συμμάχῳ τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπαλλαγέντε Κριτίας μὲν φυγὼν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις, Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' αὖ διὰ μὲν κάλλος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρώμενος, διὰ δὲ δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δυνατῶν [κολακεύειν] ἀνθρώπων διαθρυπτόμενος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος καὶ ῥαδίως πρωτεύων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἀθληταὶ ῥαδίως πρωτεύοντες ἀμελοῦσι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος
- 25 ἡμέλησεν αὐτοῦ. τοιούτων δὲ συμβάντων αὐτοῖν καὶ ὠγκωμένῳ μὲν ἐπὶ γένει, ἐπηρμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, πεφυσημένῳ δ' ἐπὶ δυνάμει, διατεθρυμ-

surprising that prudence itself is forgotten. I see 22
 also that men who take to drink or get involved in
 love intrigues lose the power of caring about right
 conduct and avoiding evil. For many who are
 careful with their money no sooner fall in love than
 they begin to waste it : and when they have spent
 it all, they no longer shrink from making more by
 methods which they formerly avoided because they
 thought them disgraceful. How then can it be 23
 impossible for one who was prudent to lose his
 prudence, for one who was capable of just action to
 become incapable ? To me indeed it seems that
 whatever is honourable, whatever is good in con-
 duct is the result of training, and that this is
 especially true of prudence. For in the same body
 along with the soul are planted the pleasures which
 call to her : " Abandon prudence, and make haste
 to gratify us and the body."

And indeed it was thus with Critias and Alcibiades. 24
 So long as they were with Socrates, they found in
 him an ally who gave them strength to conquer
 their evil passions. But when they parted from
 him, Critias fled to Thessaly, and got among men
 who put lawlessness before justice ; while Alcibiades,
 on account of his beauty, was hunted by many great
 ladies, and because of his influence at Athens and
 among her allies he was spoilt by many powerful
 men : and as athletes who gain an easy victory in
 the games are apt to neglect their training, so the
 honour in which he was held, the cheap triumph
 he won with the people, led him to neglect himself.
 Such was their fortune : and when to pride of 25
 birth, confidence in wealth, vainglory and much

- μένω δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι
τούτοις [διεφθαρμένω] καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ
Σωκράτους γεγονότε τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὑπερηφάνω
26 ἐγενέσθην; εἶτα εἰ μὲν τι ἐπλημμελησάτην, τού-
του Σωκράτην ὁ κατήγορος αἰτιᾶται; ὅτι δὲ νέω
ὄντε αὐτῷ, ἥνίκα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστάτῳ καὶ ἀκρατε-
στάτῳ εἰκὸς εἶναι, Σωκράτης παρέσχε σῶφρονε,
οὐδενὸς ἐπαίνου δοκεῖ τῷ κατηγόρῳ ἄξιος εἶναι;
27 οὐ μὴν τά γε ἄλλα οὕτω κρίνεται. τίς μὲν γὰρ
αὐλητής, τίς δὲ κιθαριστής, τίς δὲ ἄλλος
διδάσκαλος ἱκανοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς μαθητάς, ἐὰν
πρὸς ἄλλους ἐλθόντες χείρους φανῶσιν, αἰτίαν
ἔχει τούτου; τίς δὲ πατήρ, ἐὰν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ
συνδιατρίβων τῷ σωφρονῇ, ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλῳ τῷ
συγγενόμενος πονηρὸς γένηται, τὸν πρόσθεν
αἰτιᾶται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσῳ ἂν παρὰ τῷ ὑστέρῳ
χείρων φαίνεται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν
πρότερον; ἀλλ' οἷ γε πατέρες αὐτοὶ συνόντες
τοῖς υἱέσι, τῶν παίδων πλημμελούντων, οὐκ αἰτίαν
28 ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σωφρονῶσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ
Σωκράτην δίκαιον ἦν κρίνειν· εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίει
τι φαῦλον, εἰκότως ἂν ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι· εἰ δ'
αὐτὸς σωφρονῶν διετέλει, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τῆς οὐκ
ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κακίας αἰτίαν ἔχοι;
- 29 'Αλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς πονηρὸν ποιῶν
ἐκείνους φαῦλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπήνει, δικαίως
ἂν ἐπιτιμῶτο. Κριτίαν μὲν τοίνυν αἰσθανόμενος
ἐρῶντα Εὐθυδήμου καὶ πειρῶντα χρῆσθαι καθάπερ
οἱ πρὸς τὰ φροδίσια τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολαύοντες,
ἀπέτρεπε φάσκων ἀνελεύθερόν τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ
πρέπον ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καγαθῷ τὸν ἐρώμενον, ᾧ
βούλεται πολλοῦ ἄξιος φαίνεσθαι, προσαιτεῖν

yielding to temptation were added corruption and long separation from Socrates, what wonder if they grew overbearing? For their wrongdoing, then, 26 is Socrates to be called to account by his accuser? And does he deserve no word of praise for having controlled them in the days of their youth, when they would naturally be most reckless and licentious? Other cases, at least, are not so judged. For what 27 teacher of flute, lyre, or anything else, after making his pupils proficient, is held to blame if they leave him for another master, and then turn out incompetent? What father, whose son bears a good character so long as he is with one master, but goes wrong after he has attached himself to another, throws the blame on the earlier teacher? Is it not true that the worse the boy turns out with the second, the higher is his father's praise of the first? Nay, fathers themselves, living with their sons, are not held responsible for their boys' wrongdoing if they are themselves prudent men. This is the test 28 which should have been applied to Socrates too. If there was anything base in his own life, he might fairly have been thought vicious. But, if his own conduct was always prudent, how can he be fairly held to blame for the evil that was not in him?

Nevertheless, although he was himself free from 29 vice, if he saw and approved of base conduct in them, he would be open to censure. Well, when he found that Critias loved Euthydemus¹ and wanted to lead him astray, he tried to restrain him by saying that it was mean and unbecoming in a gentleman to sue like a beggar to the object of his affection, whose

¹ IV. ii. 1.

- ὥσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἰκετεύοντα καὶ δεόμενον
 30 προσδοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ. τοῦ δὲ
 Κριτίου τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχ ὑπακούοντος οὐδὲ
 ἀποτρεπομένου, λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην ἄλλων τε
 πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
 ὑικὸν αὐτῷ δοκοίη πᾶσχειν ὁ Κριτίας ἐπιθυμῶν
 Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς
 31 λίθοις. ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ ἐμίσει τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ
 Κριτίας, ὥστε καὶ ὅτε τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης
 μετὰ Χαρικλέους ἐγένετο, ἀπεμνημόνευσεν αὐτῷ
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔγραψε λόγων τέχνην μὴ
 διδάσκειν, ἐπηρεάζων ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅπῃ
 ἐπιλάβοιτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινῇ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ
 τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον ἐπιφέρων αὐτῷ καὶ
 διαβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγωγε
 οὔτ' αὐτὸς τοῦτο πώποτε Σωκράτους ἤκουσα
 οὔτ' ἄλλου του φάσκοντος ἀκηκοέναι ἡσθόμην.
 32 ἐδήλωσε δέ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τριάκοντα πολλοὺς μὲν
 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οὐ τοὺς χειρίστους ἀπέκτεινον,
 πολλοὺς δὲ προετρέποντο ἀδικεῖν, εἰπέ που ὁ
 Σωκράτης, ὅτι θαυμαστόν οἱ δοκοίη εἶναι, εἴ τις
 γενόμενος βοῶν ἀγέλης νομεὺς καὶ τὰς βοῦς
 ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους ποιῶν μὴ ὁμολογοίη
 κακὸς βουκόλος εἶναι, ἔτι δὲ θαυμαστότερον, εἴ
 τις προστάτης γενόμενος πόλεως καὶ ποιῶν τοὺς
 πολίτας ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους μὴ αἰσχύνεται
 33 μῆδ' οἶεται κακὸς εἶναι προστάτης τῆς πόλεως.
 ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτου, καλέσαντε ὁ τε
 Κριτίας καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς τὸν Σωκράτην τὸν τε

good opinion he coveted, stooping to ask a favour that it was wrong to grant. As Critias paid no heed 30 whatever to this protest, Socrates, it is said, exclaimed in the presence of Euthydemus and many others, "Critias seems to have the feelings of a pig : he can no more keep away from Euthydemus than pigs can help rubbing themselves against stones." Now Critias bore a grudge against Socrates for this ; 31 and when he was one of the Thirty and was drafting laws with Charicles, he bore it in mind. He inserted a clause which made it illegal "to teach the art of words." It was a calculated insult to Socrates, whom he saw no means of attacking, except by imputing to him the practice constantly attributed to philosophers,¹ and so making him unpopular. For I myself never heard Socrates indulge in the practice, nor knew of anyone who professed to have heard him do so. The truth came out. When the Thirty were 32 putting to death many citizens of the highest respectability and were encouraging many in crime, Socrates had remarked : "It seems strange enough to me that a herdsman² who lets his cattle decrease and go to the bad should not admit that he is a poor cowherd ; but stranger still that a statesman when he causes the citizens to decrease and go to the bad, should feel no shame nor think himself a poor statesman." This remark was reported to 33 Critias and Charicles, who sent for Socrates, showed

¹ *i.e.* the practice of "making the worse appear the better argument." In Plato, *Apol.* 19b, Socrates makes Aristophanes (*Clouds*) author of this charge against him. Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* (B 24, 11) associates the practice with the name of Protagoras : *cp. Diog. Laert.* ix. 51.

² *Cyropaedia*, VIII. ii. 14.

νόμον ἐδεικνύτην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἀπειπέτην μὴ διαλέγεσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐπήρετο αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐξείη πυνθά-
νεσθαι, εἴ τι ἀγνοοῖτο τῶν προαγορευομένων.

Τὼ δ' ἐφάτην.

34 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, παρεσκεύασμαι μὲν πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις· ὅπως δὲ μὴ δι' ἄγνοιαν λάθω τι παρανομήσας, τοῦτο βούλομαι σαφῶς μαθεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν, πότερον τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύετε αὐτῆς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς, δῆλον ὅτι ἀφεκτέον ἂν εἴη τοῦ ὀρθῶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς, δῆλον ὅτι πειρατέον ὀρθῶς λέγειν.

35 Καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ, Ἐπειδὴ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀγνοεῖς, τάδε σοι εὐμαθέστερα ὄντα προαγορεύομεν, τοῖς νέοις ὅλως μὴ διαλέγεσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἰνα τοίνυν, ἔφη, μὴ ἀμφίβολον ἦ, ὥς ἄλλο τι ποιῶ ἢ τὰ προηγορευμένα, ὀρίσατέ μοι, μέχρι πόσων ἐτῶν δεῖ νομίζειν νέους εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς, Ὅσουπερ, εἶπε, χρόνου βου-
λεύειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, ὥς οὐπω φρονίμοις οὖσι· μηδὲ
σὺ διαλέγου νεωτέροις τριάκοντα ἐτῶν.

36 Μηδ' ἐάν τι ὠνῶμαι, ἔφη, ἣν πωλῇ νεώτερος
τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, ἔρωμαι, ὅποσου πωλεῖ ;

Ναὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα, ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς· ἀλλὰ τοι
σύγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴωθας εἰδὼς πῶς ἔχει τὰ
πλείστα ἐρωτᾶν. ταῦτα οὖν μὴ ἐρώτα.

Μηδ' ἀποκρίνωμαι οὖν, ἔφη, ἂν τίς με ἐρωτᾷ
νέος, ἐὰν εἰδῶ, οἷον ποῦ οἰκεῖ Χαρικλῆς ἢ ποῦ ἐστὶ
Κριτίας ;

him the law and forbade him to hold conversation with the young.

"May I question you," asked Socrates, "in case I do not understand any point in your orders?"

"You may," said they.

"Well now," said he, "I am ready to obey the laws. 34 But lest I unwittingly transgress through ignorance, I want clear directions from you. Do you think that the art of words from which you bid me abstain is associated with sound or unsound reasoning? For if with sound, then clearly I must abstain from sound reasoning: but if with unsound, clearly I must try to reason soundly."

"Since you are ignorant, Socrates," said Charicles 35 in an angry tone, "we put our order into language easier to understand. You may not hold any converse whatever with the young."

"Well then," said Socrates, "that there may be no question raised about my obedience, please fix the age limit below which a man is to be accounted young."

"So long," replied Charicles, "as he is not permitted to sit in the Council, because as yet he lacks wisdom. You shall not converse with anyone who is under thirty."

"Suppose I want to buy something, am I not even 36 then to ask the price if the seller is under thirty?"

"Oh yes," answered Charicles, "you may in such cases. But the fact is, Socrates, you are in the habit of asking questions to which you know the answer: so that is what you are not to do."

"Am I to give no answer, then, if a young man asks me something that I know?—for instance, 'Where does Charicles live?' or 'Where is Critias?'"

Ναὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα, ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς.

- 37 Ὁ δὲ Κριτίας, Ἀλλὰ τῶνδὲ τοί σε ἀπέχεσθαι ἔφη, δεήσει, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῶν σκυτέων καὶ τῶν τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν χαλκέων· καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι αὐτοὺς ἤδη κατατετρίφθαι διαθρυλουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων τούτοις τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων;

- Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς, καὶ τῶν βουκόλων γε· εἰ δὲ μή, φυλάττου, ὅπως μὴ καὶ σὺ 38 ἐλάττους τὰς βούς ποιήσης.

Ἐνθα καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἀπαγγελθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ περὶ τῶν βοῶν λόγου ὠργίζοντο τῷ Σωκράτει.

- Οἷα μὲν οὖν ἡ συνουσία ἐγεγόνει Κριτία πρὸς Σωκράτην καὶ ὥς εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴρηται. 39 φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παιδευσιν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀρέσκοντος. Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐκ ἀρέσκοντος αὐτοῖς Σωκράτους ὠμιλήσάτην ὃν χρόνον ὠμιλείτην αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠρμηκότε προεστάνει τῆς πόλεως. ἔτι γὰρ Σωκράτει συνόντες οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεχείρουν διαλέγεσθαι ἢ τοῖς μάλιστα πράττουσι 40 τὰ πολιτικά. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδην, πρὶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶναι, Περικλεῖ, ἐπιτρόπῳ μὲν ὄντι ἑαυτοῦ, προστάτῃ δὲ τῆς πόλεως, τοιάδε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ νόμων.

- 41 Εἰπέ μοι, φάναι, ὦ Περικλείς, ἔχοις ἄν με διδάξαι, τί ἐστὶ νόμος;

Πάντως δήπου, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα.

Δίδαξον δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, φάναι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην· ὥς ἐγὼ ἀκούων τινῶν ἐπαινουμένων, ὅτι

"Oh yes," answered Charicles, "you may, in such cases."

"But you see, Socrates," explained Critias, "you 37 will have to avoid your favourite topic,—the cobblers, builders and metal workers¹; for it is already worn to rags by you in my opinion."

"Then must I keep off the subjects of which these supply illustrations, Justice, Holiness, and so forth?"

"Indeed yes," said Charicles, "and cowherds too: else *you* may find the cattle decrease."

Thus the truth was out: the remark about the 38 cattle had been repeated to them: and it was this that made them angry with him.

So much, then, for the connexion of Critias with Socrates and their relation to each other. I venture 39 to lay it down that learners get nothing from a teacher with whom they are out of sympathy. Now, all the time that Critias and Alcibiades associated with Socrates they were out of sympathy with him, but from the very first their ambition was political advancement. For while they were still with him, they tried to converse, whenever possible, with prominent politicians. Indeed, there is a story 40 told of Alcibiades, that, when he was less than twenty years old, he had a talk about laws with Pericles, his guardian, the first citizen in the State.

"Tell me, Pericles," he said, "can you teach me 41 what a law is?"

"Certainly," he replied.

"Then pray teach me. For whenever I hear men praised for keeping the laws, it occurs to me

¹ *Cyropaedia*, vi. ii. 37.

νόμιμοι ἄνδρες εἰσίν, οἷμαι μὴ ἂν δικαίως τούτου τυχεῖν τοῦ ἐπαίνου τὸν μὴ εἰδότα, τί ἐστι νόμος.

- 42 Ἄλλ' οὐδέν τι χαλεποῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, βουλόμενος γινῶναι, τί ἐστι νόμος· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι νόμοι εἰσίν, οὓς τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν καὶ δοκιμάσαν ἔγραψε, φράζον ἃ τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ μὴ.

Πότερον δὲ τὰγαθὰ νομίσαν δεῖν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰ κακά ;

Τὰγαθὰ νῆ Δία, φάναι, ὦ μεράκιον, τὰ δὲ κακὰ οὔ.

- 43 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὅπου ὀλιγαρχία ἐστίν, ὀλίγοι συνελθόντες γράψωσιν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ταῦτα τί ἐστι ;

Πάντα, φάναι, ὅσα ἂν τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως βουλευσάμενον ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν γράψῃ, νόμος καλεῖται.

Καὶ ἂν τύραννος οὖν κρατῶν τῆς πόλεως γράψῃ τοῖς πολίταις ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος ἐστί ;

Καὶ ὅσα τύραννος ἄρχων, φάναι, γράφει, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος καλεῖται.

- 44 Βία δέ, φάναι, καὶ ἀνομία τί ἐστίν, ὦ Περικλείς ; ἄρ' οὐχ ὅταν ὁ κρείττων τὸν ἥττω μὴ πείσας, ἀλλὰ βιασάμενος ἀναγκάσῃ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ;

Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα.

Καὶ ὅσα ἄρα τύραννος μὴ πείσας τοὺς πολίτας ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν γράφων, ἀνομία ἐστί ;

Δοκεῖ μοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα· ἀνατίθεμαι γὰρ τὸ ὅσα τύραννος μὴ πείσας γράφει νόμον εἶναι.

that no one can really deserve that praise who does not know what a law is."

"Well, Alcibiades, there is no great difficulty 42 about what you desire. You wish to know what a law is. Laws are all the rules approved and enacted by the majority in assembly, whereby they declare what ought and what ought not to be done."

"Do they suppose it is right to do good or evil?"

"Good, of course, young man,—not evil."

"But if, as happens under an oligarchy, not the 43 majority, but a minority meet and enact rules of conduct, what are these?"

"Whatsoever the sovereign power in the State, after deliberation, enacts and directs to be done is known as a law."

"If, then, a despot, being the sovereign power, enacts what the citizens are to do, are his orders also a law?"

"Yes, whatever a despot as ruler enacts is also known as a law."

"But force, the negation of law, what is that, 44 Pericles? Is it not the action of the stronger when he constrains the weaker to do whatever he chooses, not by persuasion, but by force?"

"That is my opinion."

"Then whatever a despot by enactment constrains the citizens to do without persuasion, is the negation of law?"

"I think so: and I withdraw my answer that whatever a despot enacts without persuasion is a law."

45 "Όσα δὲ οἱ ὀλίγοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μὴ πείσαντες, ἀλλὰ κρατοῦντες γράφουσι, πότερον βίαν φῶμεν ἢ μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι ;

Πάντα μοι δοκεῖ, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, ὅσα τις μὴ πείσας ἀναγκάζει τινὰ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γράφων εἴτε μὴ, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος εἶναι.

Καὶ ὅσα ἄρα τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος κρατοῦν τῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐχόντων γράφει μὴ πείσαν, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος ἂν εἴη ;

46 Μάλα τοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τηλικούτοι ὄντες δεινοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡμεν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἐμελετώμεν καὶ ἐσοφίζόμεθα, οἷάπερ καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς μελετᾶν.

Τὸν δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην φάναι· Εἵθε σοι, ὦ Περικλείς, τότε συνεγενόμην, ὅτε δεινότατος 47 σαυτοῦ ταῦτα ἦσθα. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τάχιστα τῶν πολιτευομένων ὑπέλαβον κρείττονες εἶναι, Σωκράτει μὲν οὐκέτι προσήεσαν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως ἤρεσκεν εἶτε προσέλθοιεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμάρτανον ἐλεγχόμενοι ἤχθοντο· τὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔπραττον, ὧνπερ ἔνεκεν καὶ Σωκράτει προσῆλθον.

48 Ἀλλὰ Κρίτων τε Σωκράτους ἦν ὁμιλητὴς καὶ Χαιρεφῶν καὶ Χαιρεκράτης καὶ Ἑρμογένης καὶ Σιμμίας καὶ Κέβης καὶ Φαιδώνδας καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ ἐκείνῳ συνῆσαν οὐχ ἵνα δημηγορικοὶ ἢ δικανικοὶ γένοιεντο, ἀλλ' ἵνα καλοί τε κἀγαθοὶ γεγόμενοι καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει καὶ πολίταις δύναιεντο καλῶς χρῆσθαι. καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς οὔτε νεώτερος οὔτε πρεσβύτερος ὧν οὗτ' ἐποίησε κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτ' αἰτίαν ἔσχευ.

“And when the minority passes enactments, not 45 by persuading the majority, but through using its power, are we to call that force or not?”

“Everything, I think, that men constrain others to do ‘without persuasion,’ whether by enactment or not, is not law, but force.”

“It follows then, that whatever the assembled majority, through using its power over the owners of property, enacts without persuasion is not law, but force?”

“Alcibiades,” said Pericles, “at your age, I may 46 tell you, we, too, were very clever at this sort of thing. For the puzzles we thought about and exercised our wits on were just such as you seem to think about now.”

“Ah, Pericles,” cried Alcibiades, “if only I had known you intimately when you were at your cleverest in these things!”

So soon, then, as they presumed themselves to be 47 the superiors of the politicians, they no longer came near Socrates. For apart from their general want of sympathy with him, they resented being cross-examined about their errors when they came. Politics had brought them to Socrates, and for politics they left him. But Criton was a true asso- 48 ciate of Socrates, as were Chaerophon, Chaerecrates, Hermogenes, Simmias, Cebes, Phaedondas, and others who consorted with him not that they might shine in the courts or the assembly, but that they might become gentlemen, and be able to do their duty by house and household, and relatives and friends, and city and citizens. Of these not one, in his youth or old age, did evil or incurred censure.

- 49 Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γ', ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, τοὺς πατέρας προπηλακίζειν ἐδίδασκε, πείθων μὲν τοὺς συνόντας ἑαυτῷ σοφωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν πατέρων, φάσκων δὲ κατὰ νόμον ἐξεῖναι παρα-
νοίας ἐλόντι καὶ τὸν πατέρα δῆσαι, τεκμηρίῳ
τούτῳ χρώμενος, ὥς τὸν ἀμαθέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ
50 σοφωτέρου νόμιμον εἶη δεδέσθαι. Σωκράτης δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμαθίας ἔνεκα δεσμεύοντα δικαίως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν ᾧετο δεδέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἂ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται· καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔνεκα πολλάκις ἐσκόπει, τί διαφέρει μανίας ἀμαθία· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαινομένους ᾧετο συμφερόντως ἂν δεδέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένους τὰ δέοντα δικαίως ἂν μανθάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων.
- 51 Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε, ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, οὐ μόνον τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς ἐποίει ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ συνοῦσι, λέγων, ὥς οὔτε τοὺς κάμνοντας οὔτε τοὺς δικαζο-
μένους οἱ συγγενεῖς ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἱ
52 ἰατροί, τοὺς δὲ οἱ συνδικεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι. ἔφη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὥς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εὔνους εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὠφελεῖν δυνήσονται· μόνους δὲ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἀξίους εἶναι τιμῆς τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένους· ἀναπείθοντα οὖν τοὺς νέους αὐτόν, ὥς αὐτὸς εἶη σοφώτατός τε καὶ ἄλλους ἱκανώτατος ποιῆσαι σοφούς, οὕτω διατιθέναι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνόντας, ὥστε μηδαμοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι πρὸς
53 αὐτόν. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸν οἶδα μὲν καὶ περὶ πατέρων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν καὶ περὶ φίλων ταῦτα λέγοντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε δῆ, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς

“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates taught sons to 49
 treat their fathers with contempt: he persuaded
 them that he made his companions wiser than their
 fathers: he said that the law allowed a son to put
 his father in prison if he convinced a jury that he
 was insane; and this was a proof that it was lawful
 for the wiser to keep the more ignorant in gaol.”
 In reality Socrates held that, if you clap fetters on 50
 a man for his ignorance, you deserve to be kept in
 gaol yourself by those whose knowledge is greater
 than your own: and such reasoning led him
 frequently to consider the difference between Mad-
 ness and Ignorance. That madmen should be kept
 in prison was expedient, he thought, both for them-
 selves and for their friends: but those who are
 ignorant of what they ought to know deserve to
 learn from those who know it.

“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates caused his 51
 companions to dishonour not only their fathers, but
 their other relations as well, by saying that invalids
 and litigants get benefit not from their relations,
 but from their doctor or their counsel. Of friends 52
 too he said that their goodwill was worthless,
 unless they could combine with it some power to
 help one: only those deserved honour who knew
 what was the right thing to do, and could explain it.
 Thus by leading the young to think that he excelled
 in wisdom and in ability to make others wise, he
 had such an effect on his companions that no one
 counted for anything in their estimation in com-
 parison with him.” Now I know that he did use 53
 this language about fathers, relations and friends.
 And, what is more, he would say that so soon as

- ἐξελθούσης, ἐν ᾗ μόνη γίγνεται φρόνησις, τὸ σῶμα
 τοῦ οἰκειοτάτου ἀνθρώπου τὴν ταχίστην ἐξενέγ-
 54 καντες ἀφανίζουν. ἔλεγε δέ, ὅτι καὶ ζῶν ἕκαστος
 ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ πάντων μάλιστα φιλεῖ, τοῦ σώματος
 ὅ,τι ἂν ἀχρεῖον ᾖ καὶ ἀνωφελές, αὐτὸς τε ἀφαιρεῖ
 καὶ ἄλλῳ παρέχει. αὐτοὶ τέ γε αὐτῶν ὄνυχάς τε
 καὶ τρίχας καὶ τύλους ἀφαιροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς
 παρέχουσι μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνων καὶ
 ἀποτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκάειν καὶ τούτου χάριν οἶονται
 δεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ μισθὸν τίνειν· καὶ τὸ σίαλον ἐκ
 τοῦ στόματος ἀποπτύουσιν ὥς δύναται πορρω-
 τάτω, διότι ὠφελεῖ μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνόν, βλάπτει
 55 δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον. ταῦτ' οὖν ἔλεγεν οὐ τὸν μὲν
 πατέρα ζῶντα κατορύττειν διδάσκων, ἑαυτὸν δὲ
 κατατέμνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύων, ὅτι τὸ ἄφρον
 ἄτιμόν ἐστι, παρεκάλει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ὥς
 φρονιμώτατον εἶναι καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ὅπως, εἴαν
 τε ὑπὸ πατρὸς εἴαν τε ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ εἴαν τε ὑπ'
 ἄλλου τινὸς βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ τῷ οἰκείῳ
 εἶναι πιστεύων ἀμελῇ, ἀλλὰ πειράται ὑφ' ὧν ἂν
 βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, τούτοις ὠφέλιμος εἶναι.
 56 "Εφη δ' αὐτὸν ὁ κατήγορος καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων
 ποιητῶν ἐκλεγόμενον τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τούτοις
 μαρτυρίοις χρώμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας
 κακούργους τε εἶναι καὶ τυραννικούς, Ἑσιόδου
 μὲν τὸ

"Εργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἱεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος·

- τοῦτο δὴ λέγειν αὐτὸν ὥς ὁ ποιητὴς κελεύει μη-
 δενὸς ἔργου μήτ' ἀδίκου μήτ' αἰσχροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι,
 57 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει. Σωκράτης
 δ' ἐπεὶ διομολογήσαιο τὸ μὲν ἐργάτην εἶναι

the soul, the only seat of intelligence, is gone out of a man, even though he be our nearest and dearest, we carry out his body and hide it in the tomb. Moreover, a man's dearest friend is himself: yet, 54 even in his lifetime he removes or lets another remove from his body whatever is useless and unprofitable. He removes his own nails, hair, corns: he lets the surgeon cut and cauterize him, and, aches and pains notwithstanding, feels bound to thank and fee him for it. He spits out the saliva from his mouth as far away as he can, because to retain it doesn't help him, but harms him rather.

Now in saying all this, he was not giving a lesson 55 on "the duty of burying one's father alive, or making mincemeat of one's body": he meant to show that unreason is unworth, and was urging the necessity of cultivating sound sense and usefulness, in order that he who would fain be valued by father or by brother or by anyone else may not rely on the bond of familiarity and neglect him, but may try to be useful to all those by whom he would be valued.

Again, his accuser alleged that he selected 56 from the most famous poets the most immoral passages, and used them as evidence in teaching his companions to be tyrants and malefactors: for example, Hesiod's line:

"No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace."¹

He was charged with explaining this line as an injunction to refrain from no work, dishonest or disgraceful, but to do anything for gain. Now, 57 though Socrates would fully agree that it is a

¹ *Works and Days*, 309.

ὠφέλιμόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δ' ἀργεῖν κακόν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶντας ἐργάζεσθαι τε ἔφη καὶ ἐργάτας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κυβεύοντας ἢ τι ἄλλο πονηρὸν καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ποιῶντας ἀργοὺς ἀπεκάλει. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι τὸ

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

58 τὸ δὲ Ὅμηρου ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος πολλάκις αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς

Ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη, τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς· δαιμόνι', οὐ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὥς δειδίσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἴδρυσεν λαούς. ὃν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι, τὸν σκῆπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ· δαιμόνι', ἀτρέμας ἦσο καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε, οἱ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἄναλκις,

οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ὥς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπαινοίη
59 παίεσθαι τοὺς δημότας καὶ πένητας. Σωκράτης δ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὕτῳ γ' ἂν ᾤετο δεῖν παίεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς μήτε λόγῳ μήτ' ἔργῳ ὠφελίμους ὄντας καὶ μήτε στρατεύματι μήτε πόλει μήτε αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ, εἴ τι δέοι, βοηθεῖν ἱκανούς, ἄλλως τ' εἰάν πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ θρασεῖς ὦσι, πάντα τρόπον κωλύεσθαι, καὶ πάννυ πλού-
60 σιοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες. ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε

benefit and a blessing to a man to be a worker, and a disadvantage and an evil to be an idler—that work, in fact, is a blessing, idleness an evil—“working,” “being a worker,” meant to him doing good work; but gambling and any occupation that is immoral and leads to loss he called idling. When thus interpreted there is nothing amiss with the line:

“No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.”

Again, his accuser said that he often quoted the 58 passage from Homer, showing how Odysseus:

“Whenever he found one that was a captain and a man of mark, stood by his side, and restrained him with gentle words: ‘Good sir, it is not seemly to affright thee like a coward, but do thou sit thyself and make all thy folk sit down. . . .’ But whatever man of the people he saw and found him shouting, him he drove with his sceptre and chid him with loud words: ‘Good sir, sit still and hearken to the words of others that are thy betters: but thou art no warrior and a weakling, never reckoned whether in battle or in council.’”¹

This passage, it was said, he explained to mean that the poet approved of chastising common and poor folk. But Socrates never said that: indeed, 59 on that view he would have thought himself worthy of chastisement. But what he did say was that those who render no service either by word or deed, who cannot help army or city or the people itself in time of need, ought to be stopped, even if they have riches in abundance, above all if they are insolent as well as inefficient. But Socrates, at least, was just 60

¹ *Iliad*, II. 188; Leaf's translation.

- τᾶναντία τούτων φανερός ἦν καὶ δημοτικὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὢν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ ἀστοὺς καὶ ξένους λαβὼν οὐδένα πώποτε μισθὸν τῆς συνουσίας ἐπράξατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐπήρκει τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· ὢν τινες μικρὰ μέρη παρ' ἐκείνου προῖκα λαβόντες πολλοὺ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπώλουν καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος δημοτικοί. τοῖς γὰρ μὴ ἔχουσι χρήματα διδόναι
- 61 οὐκ ἠθέλον διαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κόσμον τῇ πόλει παρεῖχε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ Λίχας τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, ὃς ὀνομαστὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέγοιε. Λίχας μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ξένους ἐδείπνιζε, Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δαπανῶν τὰ μέγιστα πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους ὠφέλει· βελτίους γὰρ ποιῶν τοὺς συγγιγνομένους ἀπέπεμπεν.
- 62 Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ Σωκράτης τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐδόκει τιμῆς ἄξιος εἶναι τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ θανάτου. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δὲ σκοπῶν ἂν τις τοῦθ' εὔροι. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους, εἴαν τις φανερὸς γένηται κλέπτων ἢ λωποδυτῶν ἢ βαλαντιοτομῶν ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν, τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἢ ζημία· ὢν ἐκεῖνος πάντων
- 63 ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον ἀπεῖχεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ πόλει γε οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος οὔτε στάσεως οὔτε προδοσίας οὔτε ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενὸς πώποτε αἷτιος ἐγένετο· οὐδὲ μὴν ἰδίᾳ γε οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησεν οὔτε κακοῖς περιέβαλεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ'

the opposite of all that: he showed himself to be one of the people and a friend of mankind. For although he had many eager disciples among citizens and strangers, yet he never exacted a fee for his society from one of them, but of his abundance he gave without stint to all. Some indeed, after getting from him a few trifles for nothing, became vendors of them at a great price to others, and showed none of his sympathy with the people, refusing to talk with those who had no money to give them.¹ But Socrates did far more to win 61 respect for the State in the world at large than Lichas, whose services to Sparta have made his name immortal. For Lichas used to entertain the strangers staying at Sparta during the Feast of the Dancing Boys;² but Socrates spent his life in lavishing his gifts and rendering the greatest services to all who cared to receive them. For he always made his associates better men before he parted with them.

Such was the character of Socrates. To me he 62 seemed to deserve honour rather than death at the hands of the State. And a consideration of his case in its legal aspect will confirm my opinion. Under the laws, death is the penalty inflicted on persons proved to be thieves, highwaymen, cutpurses, kidnappers, robbers of temples; and from such criminals no man was so widely separated as he. Moreover, 63 to the State he was never the cause of disaster in war, or strife or treason or any evil whatever. Again, in private life no man by him was ever

¹ Aristippus especially is meant.

² According to Eusebius this festival, which was held in the summer, was instituted in honour of the Spartans who fell fighting against the Argives for the possession of Thyrea.

64 αἰτίαν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἔσχε. πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔνοχος εἴη τῇ γραφῇ; ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς, ὥς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐγγέγραπτο, φανερὸς ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους, ὃ δὴ ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν ἡτιᾶτο, φανερὸς ἦν τῶν συνόντων τοὺς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας τούτων μὲν παύων, τῆς δὲ καλλίστης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτης ἀρετῆς, ἣ πόλεις τε καὶ οἶκοι εὖ οἰκοῦσι, προτρέπων ἐπιθυμεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ πράττων πῶς οὐ μεγάλης ἄξιος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;

III. Ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὠφελεῖν ἐδόκει μοι τοὺς συνόντας τὰ μὲν ἔργῳ δεικνύων ἑαυτὸν οἷος ἦν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαλεγόμενος, τούτων δὴ γράψω ὅποσα ἂν διαμνημονεύσω.

Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φανερὸς ἦν καὶ ποιῶν καὶ λέγων ἡπερ ἡ Πυθία ἀποκρίνεται τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ περὶ θυσίας ἢ περὶ προγόνων θεραπείας ἢ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων· ἣ τε γὰρ Πυθία νόμῳ πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ ποιούντας εὐσεβῶς ἂν ποιεῖν Σωκράτης τε οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήνει, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως πως ποιούντας περιέρχους καὶ ματαίους
2 ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ εὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τὰγαθὰ διδόναι, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας, ὅποια ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ· τοὺς δ' εὐχομένους χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ τυραννίδα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐνόμιζεν εὔχεσθαι ἢ εἰ κυβείαν ἢ μάχην ἢ ἄλλο τι εὔχοιντο τῶν φανερώς
3 ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο. θυσίας δὲ θύων

deprived of good or involved in ill. None of these 64 crimes was ever so much as imputed to him. How then could he be guilty of the charges? For so far was he from "rejecting the gods," as charged in the indictment, that no man was more conspicuous for his devotion to the service of the gods: so far from "corrupting the youth," as his accuser actually charged against him, that if any among his companions had evil desires, he openly tried to reform them and exhorted them to desire the fairest and noblest virtue, by which men prosper in public life and in their homes. By this conduct did he not deserve high honour from the State?

III. In order to support my opinion that he benefited his companions, alike by actions that revealed his own character and by his conversation, I will set down what I recollect of these.

First, then, for his attitude towards religion; his deeds and words were clearly in harmony with the answer given by the Priestess at Delphi to such questions as "What is my duty about sacrifice?" or about "cult of ancestors." For the answer of the Priestess is, "Follow the custom of the State: that is the way to act piously." And so Socrates acted himself and counselled others to act. To take any other course he considered presumption and folly.

And again, when he prayed he asked simply for 2 good gifts,¹ "for the gods know best what things are good." To pray for gold or silver or sovereignty or any other such thing, was just like praying for a gamble or a fight or anything of which the result is obviously uncertain.

Though his sacrifices were humble, according to 3

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 5.

μικρὰς ἀπὸ μικρῶν οὐδὲν ἡγείτο μειοῦσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θυόντων. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα· οὔτ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄξιον εἶναι ζῆν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν· ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν. ἐπαινέτης δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἔπους τούτου,

Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

καὶ πρὸς φίλους δὲ καὶ ξένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν καλὴν ἔφη παραίνεσιν εἶναι τὴν Καδδύ-
 4 ναμιν ἔρδειν. εἰ δέ τι δόξειεν αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἦττον ἂν ἐπείσθη παρὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποιῆσαι ἢ εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν ὁδοῦ λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα τυφλὸν καὶ μὴ εἰδότα τὴν ὁδὸν ἀντὶ βλέποντος καὶ εἰδότος· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ μωρίαν κατηγόρει, οὔτινες παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα ποιούσιν τι φυλαττόμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδοξίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα τὰνθρώπινα ὑπερεώρα πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίαν.

5 Διαίτη δὲ τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἐπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἧ χρώμενος ἂν τις, εἰ μή τι δαιμόνιον εἴη, θαρραλέως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διάγοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε τοσαύτης δαπάνης. οὕτω γὰρ εὐτελὴς

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 336.

his means, he thought himself not a whit inferior to those who made frequent and magnificent sacrifices out of great possessions. The gods (he said) could not well delight more in great offerings than in small—for in that case must the gifts of the wicked often have found more favour in their sight than the gifts of the upright—and man would not find life worth having, if the gifts of the wicked were received with more favour by the gods than the gifts of the upright. No, the greater the piety of the giver, the greater (he thought) was the delight of the gods in the gift. He would quote with approval the line :

“According to thy power render sacrifice to the immortal gods,”¹

and he would add that in our treatment of friends and strangers, and in all our behaviour, it is a noble principle to *render according to our power*. If ever ⁴ any warning seemed to be given him from heaven, he would more easily have been persuaded to choose a blind guide who did not know the road in preference to one who could see and knew the way, than to disregard the admonition. All men, in fact, who flouted the warnings of the gods in their anxiety to avoid the censure of men, he denounced for their foolishness. He himself despised all human opinions in comparison with counsel given by the gods.

He schooled his body and soul by following, ^{a 5} system which, in all human calculation, would give him a life of confidence and security, and would make it easy to meet his expenses. For he was so

ἦν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις οὕτως ἂν ὀλίγα ἐργάζοιτο, ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰ Σωκράτει ἀρκούντα. σίτω μὲν γὰρ τοσούτῳ ἐχρήτο, ὅσον ἡδέως ἥσθιε· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ἦει, ὥστε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ σίτου ὄψον αὐτῷ εἶναι· ποτὸν δὲ πᾶν ἡδὺ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μὴ πίνειν, εἰ μὴ διψῶη.
 6 εἰ δέ ποτε κληθεῖς ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθεῖν, ὃ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐργωδέστατόν ἐστιν, ὥστε φυλάσασθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόρον ἐμπίπλασθαι, τοῦτο ῥαδίως πάνυ ἐφυλάττετο. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν συνεβούλευε φυλάττεσθαι τὰ πείθοντα μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν μηδὲ διψῶντας πίνειν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ λυμαινόμενα γαστέρας καὶ
 7 κεφαλὰς καὶ ψυχὰς ταύτ' ἔφη εἶναι. οἷεσθαι δ' ἔφη ἐπισκώπτων καὶ τὴν Κίρκην ὅς ποιεῖν τοιούτοις πολλοῖς δειπνίζουσιν· τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεά Ἑρμοῦ τε ὑποθημοσύνη καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκρατῇ ὄντα καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόρον τῶν τοιούτων
 8 ἄπτεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα οὐ γενέσθαι ὕν. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἔπαιζεν ἅμα σπουδάζων.

Ἀφροdisίων δὲ παρῆναι τῶν καλῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη ῥάδιον εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτόμενον σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κριτόβουλόν ποτε τὸν Κρίτωνος πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐφίλησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου υἱὸν καλὸν ὄντα, παρόντος τοῦ
 9 Κριτοβούλου ἤρετο Ξενοφῶντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, οὐ σὺ Κριτόβουλον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τῶν σωφρονικῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν θρασέων καὶ τῶν προνοητικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ ῥιψοκινδύνων;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν.

Νῦν τοίνυν νόμιζε αὐτὸν θερμουργότατον εἶναι

frugal that it is hardly possible to imagine a man doing so little work as not to earn enough to satisfy the needs of Socrates. He ate just sufficient food to make eating a pleasure, and he was so ready for his food that he found appetite the best sauce¹: and any kind of drink he found pleasant, because he drank only when he was thirsty. Whenever 6 he accepted an invitation to dinner, he resisted without difficulty the common temptation to exceed the limit of satiety; and he advised those who could not do likewise to avoid appetizers that encouraged them to eat and drink what they did not want: for such trash was the ruin of stomach and brain and soul. "I believe," he said in jest, 7 "it was by providing a feast of such things that Circe made swine; and it was partly by the prompting of Hermes,² partly through his own self-restraint and avoidance of excessive indulgence in such things, that Odysseus was not turned into a pig." This was 8 how he would talk on the subject, half joking, half in earnest.

Of sensual passion he would say: "Avoid it resolutely: it is not easy to control yourself once you meddle with that sort of thing." Thus, on hearing that Critobulus had kissed Alcibiades' pretty boy, he put this question to Xenophon before Critobulus: "Tell me, Xenophon, did you not 9 suppose Critobulus to be a sober person, and by no means rash; prudent, and not thoughtless or adventurous?"

"Certainly," said Xenophon.

"Then you are to look on him henceforth as

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. v. 12.

² In *Odyssey*, x. 281 f.

καὶ λεωργότατον· οὗτος κὰν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσῃε κὰν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο.

- 10 Καὶ τί δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἰδὼν ποιοῦντα τοιαῦτα κατέγνωκας αὐτοῦ ;

Οὐ γὰρ οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐτόλμησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου υἱὸν φιλήσαι, ὄντα εὐπροσώπota καὶ ὠραιότατον ;

Ἄλλ' εἰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ ριψοκίνδυνον ἔργον, κὰν ἐγὼ δοκῶ μοι τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦτον ὑπομεῖναι.

- 11 Ὡς τλήμων, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τί ἂν οἶε παθεῖν καλὸν φιλήσας ; ἂρ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτίκα μάλα δούλος μὲν εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου, πολλὰ δὲ δαπανᾶν εἰς βλαβεράς ἡδονάς, πολλὴν δὲ ἀσχολίαν ἔχειν τοῦ ἐπιμεληθῆναί τινος καλοῦ καγαθοῦ, σπουδάζειν δ' ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐφ' οἷς οὐδ' ἂν μαινόμενος σπουδάσειεν ;

- 12 Ὡς Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὡς δεινὴν τινα λέγεις δύναμιν τοῦ φιλήματος εἶναι.

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, θαυμάζεις ; οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, τὰ φαλάγγια οὐδ' ἡμιωβολιαῖα τὸ μέγεθος ὄντα προσαψάμενα μόνον τῷ στόματι ταῖς τε ὀδύναις ἐπιτρίβει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξίστησι ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν· ἐνίησι γάρ τι τὰ φαλάγγια κατὰ τὸ δῆγμα.

- 13 Ὡς μῶρε, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς οὐκ οἶε φιλοῦντας ἐνιέναι τι, ὅτι σὺ οὐχ ὀρᾷς ; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον, ὃ καλοῦσι καλὸν καὶ ὠραῖον, τοσοῦτῳ δεινότερόν ἐστι τῶν φαλαγγίων, ὅσῳ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀψάμενα, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδ' ἀπτόμενον, εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸ θεᾶται, ἐνίησιν τι καὶ πάννυ

utterly hot-headed and reckless: the man would do a somersault into a ring of knives; he would jump into fire."

"What on earth has he done to make you think 10 so badly of him?" asked Xenophon.

"What has the man done? He dared to kiss Alcibiades' son, and the boy is very good-looking and attractive."

"Oh, if that is the sort of adventure you mean, I think I might make that venture myself."

"Poor fellow! What do you think will happen 11 to you through kissing a pretty face? Won't you lose your liberty in a trice and become a slave, begin spending large sums on harmful pleasures, have no time to give to anything fit for a gentleman, be forced to concern yourself with things that no madman even would care about?"

"Heracles! what alarming power in a kiss!" 12 cried Xenophon.

"What? Does that surprise you?" continued Socrates. "Don't you know that the scorpion, though smaller than a farthing, if it but fasten on the tongue, inflicts excruciating and maddening pain?"

"Yes, to be sure; for the scorpion injects something by its bite."

"And do you think, you foolish fellow, that the 13 fair inject nothing when they kiss, just because you don't see it? Don't you know that this creature called 'fair and young' is more dangerous than the scorpion, seeing that it need not even come in contact, like the insect, but at any distance can

πρόσωθεν τοιούτον, ὥστε μαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν ; [ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑρωτες τοξόται διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται, ὅτι καὶ πρόσωθεν οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν.] ἀλλὰ συμβουλεύω σοι, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ὁπόταν ἴδῃς τινὰ καλόν, φεύγειν προτροπάδην, σοὶ δ', ὦ Κριτόβουλε, συμβουλεύω ἀπειναντίσαι· μόλις γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ [τὸ δῆγμα] ὑγιῆς γένοιο.

- 14 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀφροδισιάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσιᾶ ᾧετο χρήναι πρὸς τοιαῦτα, οἷα μὴ πάνυ μὲν δεομένου τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἂν προσδέξαιτο ἢ ψυχὴ, δεομένου δὲ οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα φανερὸς ἦν οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος, ὥστε ῥᾶον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ὠραιωτάτων ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν
- 15 αἰσχίστων καὶ ἁωροτάτων. περὶ μὲν δὴ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὕτω κατεσκευασμένος ἦν, καὶ ᾧετο οὐδὲν ἂν ἡττον ἀρκούντως ἡδεσθαι τῶν πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις πραγματευομένων, λυπεῖσθαι δὲ πολὺ ἔλαττον.¹

IV. Εἰ δέ τινες Σωκράτην νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἔνιοι γράφουσί τε καὶ λέγουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, προτρέψασθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν κράτιστον γεγονέναι, προαγαγεῖν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὐχ ἱκανόν, σκεψάμενοι μὴ μόνον ἂ ἐκεῖνος κολαστηρίου ἔνεκα τοὺς πάντ' οἰομένους εἰδέναι ἐρωτῶν ἡλεγχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂ λέγων συνημέρευε τοῖς συνδιατρίβουσι, δοκιμαζόντων, εἰ ἱκανὸς ἦν βελτίους

¹ § 15 Sauppe and others bracket as a spurious addition.

¹ Sophists.

inject a maddening poison into anyone who only looks at it?

"Maybe, too, the loves are called archers for this reason, that the fair can wound even at a distance.

"Nay, I advise you, Xenophon, as soon as you see a pretty face to take to your heels and fly: and you, Critobulus, I advise to spend a year abroad. It will certainly take you at least as long as that to recover from the bite."

Thus in the matter of carnal appetite, he held 14 that those whose passions were not under complete control should limit themselves to such indulgence as the soul would reject unless the need of the body were pressing, and such as would do no harm when the need was there. As for his own conduct in this matter, it was evident that he had trained himself to avoid the fairest and most attractive more easily than others avoid the ugliest and most repulsive. Concerning eating and drinking then and carnal in- 15
dulgence such were his views, and he thought that a due portion of pleasure would be no more lacking to him than to those who give themselves much to these, and that much less trouble would fall to his lot.

IV. If any hold the opinion expressed in some written and spoken criticisms of Socrates that are based on inference, and think, that though he was consummate in exhorting men to virtue, he was an incompetent guide to it, let them consider not only the searching cross-examination with which he chastised those who thought themselves omniscient,¹ but his daily talks with his familiar friends, and then judge whether he was capable of improving his companions.

2 ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. λεξω δὲ πρῶτον ἃ ποτε αὐτοῦ ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου διαλεγομένου πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. καταμαθὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὔτε θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς οὔτε <εὐχομενον δῆλον ὄντα οὔτε>¹ μαντικῇ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιούντων ταῦτα καταγελῶντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, ἔστιν οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους τεθαύμακας ἐπὶ σοφία;

Ἔγωγε, ἔφη.

3 Καὶ ὅς, Λέξον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπὼν ποιήσει Ὅμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, ἐπὶ δὲ διθυράμβῳ Μελα-νιππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ τραγωδίᾳ Σοφοκλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ ζωγραφίᾳ Ζεῦξιν.

4 Πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀπεργαζόμενοι εἰδῶλα ἄφρονά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα ἀξιοθαυμαστότεροι εἶναι ἢ οἱ ζῶα ἔμφρονά τε καὶ ἐνεργά;

Πολὺ νῆ Δία οἱ ζῶα, εἶπερ γε μὴ τύχη τινί, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνώμης ταῦτα γίγνεται.

Τῶν δὲ ἀτεκμάρτως ἐχόντων ὅτου ἔνεκά ἐστι καὶ τῶν φανερώς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ὄντων πότερα τύχης καὶ πότερα γνώμης ἔργα κρίνεις;

Πρέπει μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ γιγνόμενα γνώμης εἶναι ἔργα.

5 Οὐκ οὐν δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιῶν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ προσθεῖναι αὐτοῖς δι' ὧν αἰσθάνονται ἕκαστα, ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὥσθ' ὁρᾶν τὰ ὁρατά, ὦτα δὲ ὥστ' ἀκούειν τὰ ἀκουστά; ὁσμῶν γε μήν, εἰ μὴ ῥῖνες προσετέθησαν, τί ἂν ἡμῖν ὄφελος ᾦν; τίς δ' ἂν αἰσθησις ᾦν γλυκέων καὶ δριμέων καὶ πάντων τῶν διὰ στόματος ἡδέων, εἰ μὴ γλῶττα τούτων

I will first state what I once heard him say about 2
the godhead in conversation with Aristodemus the
dwarf, as he was called. On learning that he was
not known to sacrifice or pray or use divination, and
actually made a mock of those who did so, he said :
“Tell me, Aristodemus, do you admire any human
beings for wisdom?”

“I do,” he answered.

“Tell us their names.” 3

“In epic poetry Homer comes first, in my opinion ;
in dithyramb, Melanippides ; in tragedy, Sophocles ;
in sculpture, Polycleitus ; in painting, Zeuxis.”

“Which, think you, deserve the greater admira- 4
tion, the creators of phantoms without sense and
motion, or the creators of living, intelligent, and
active beings?”

“Oh, of living beings, by far, provided only they
are created by design and not mere chance.”

“Suppose that it is impossible to guess the
purpose of one creature’s existence, and obvious that
another’s serves a useful end, which, in your judg-
ment, is the work of chance, and which of design?”

“Presumably the creature that serves some useful
end is the work of design.”

“Do you not think then that he who created man 5
from the beginning had some useful end in view
when he endowed him with his several senses, giving
eyes to see visible objects, ears to hear sounds?
Would odours again be of any use to us had we not
been endowed with nostrils? What perception should
we have of sweet and bitter and all things pleasant
to the palate had we no tongue in our mouth

¹ These words are wanting in the MSS. but are supplied
from the papyrus fragment.

6 γνώμων ἐνειργάσθη ; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τόδε προνοίας ἔργοις εἰκέναι, τὸ ἐπεὶ ἀσθενὴς μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ὄψις, βλεφάροις αὐτὴν θυρώσαι, ἃ ὅταν μὲν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τι δέη, ἀναπετάννυται, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὕπνῳ συγκλείεται ; ὥς δ' ἂν μηδὲ ἄνεμοι βλάπτωσιν, ἡθμὸν βλεφαρίδας ἐμφύσαι· ὀφρύσι τε ἀπογεισῶσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ὥς μηδ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἰδρὼς κακουργῇ· τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνάς, ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ μήποτε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν ὁδόντας πᾶσι ζώοις οἴους τέμνειν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ γομφίους οἴους παρὰ τούτων δεξαμένους λεαίνειν· καὶ στόμα μὲν, δι' οὗ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ ζῶα εἰσπέμπεται, πλησίον ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ῥινῶν καταθεῖναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀποχωροῦντα δυσχερῇ, ἀποστρέψαι τοὺς τούτων ὀχετοὺς καὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν ἢ δυνατὸν προσωτάτω ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ταῦτα οὕτω προνοητικῶς πεπραγμένα ἀπορεῖς πότερα τύχης ἢ γνώμης ἔργα ἐστίν ;

7 Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὕτω γε σκοπούμεν πάνυ ἔοικε ταῦτα σοφοῦ τινος δημιουργοῦ καὶ φιλοζώου τεχνήματι.

Τὸ δὲ ἐμφύσαι μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τεκνοποιίας, ἐμφύσαι δὲ ταῖς γειναμέναις ἔρωτα τοῦ ἐκτρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τραφεῖσι μέγιστον μὲν πόθον τοῦ ζῆν, μέγιστον δὲ φόβον τοῦ θανάτου ;

Ἀμέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἔοικε μηχανήμασί τινος ζῶα εἶναι βουλευσαμένου.

8 Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρόνιμόν τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν ;

Ἐρώτα γ' οὖν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι.

Ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν οἶμι φρόνιμον εἶναι ; καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδώς, ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ

to discriminate between them? Besides these, are 6
 there not other contrivances that look like the results
 of forethought? Thus the eyeballs, being weak, are
 set behind eyelids, that open like doors when we
 want to see, and close when we sleep: on the lids
 grow lashes through which the very winds filter
 harmlessly: above the eyes is a coping of brows that
 lets no drop of sweat from the head hurt them. The
 ears catch all sounds, but are never choked with
 them. Again, the incisors of all creatures are
 adapted for cutting, the molars for receiving food
 from them and grinding it. And again, the mouth,
 through which the food they want goes in, is set
 near the eyes and nostrils; but since what goes out
 is unpleasant, the ducts through which it passes are
 turned away and removed as far as possible from the
 organs of sense. With such signs of forethought in
 these arrangements, can you doubt whether they are
 the works of chance or design?"

"No, of course not. When I regard them in this 7
 light they do look very like the handiwork of a wise
 and loving creator."

"What of the natural desire to beget children,
 the mother's desire to rear her babe, the child's
 strong will to live and strong fear of death?"

"Undoubtedly these, too, look like the con-
 trivances of one who deliberately willed the
 existence of living creatures."

"Do you think you have any wisdom yourself?" 8

"Oh! Ask me a question and judge from my
 answer."

"And do you suppose that wisdom is nowhere else
 to be found, although you know that you have a mere
 speck of all the earth in your body and a mere

σώματι πολλῆς οὔσης ἔχεις καὶ ὑγροῦ βραχὺ πολλοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δήπου μεγάλων ὄντων ἐκάστου μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ σῶμα συνήρμωσταί σοι· νοῦν δὲ μόνον ἄρα οὐδαμοῦ ὄντα σε εὐτυχῶς πως δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι καὶ τάδε τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ πλήθος ἄπειρα δι' ἀφροσύνην τινὰ οὕτως οἶει εὐτάκτως ἔχειν ;

- 9 Μὰ Δί', οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τοὺς κυρίους, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων τοὺς δημιουργούς.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σαυτοῦ σύγῃ ψυχὴν ὁρᾷς, ἢ τοῦ σώματος κυρία ἐστίν· ὥστε κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔξεστί σοι λέγειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τύχῃ πάντα πράττεις.

- 10 Καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, Οὔτοι, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὑπερορῶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγοῦμαι ἢ ὡς τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας προσδεῖσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὅσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀξιοῖ σε θεραπεύειν, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον τιμητέον αὐτό.

- 11 Εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ νομίζοιμι θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων τι φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἂν ἀμελοῖην αὐτῶν.

Ἐπειτ' οὐκ οἶει φροντίζειν ; οἱ πρῶτον μὲν μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπον ὀρθὸν ἀνέστησαν· ἢ δὲ ὀρθότης καὶ προορᾶν πλεον ποιεῖ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεῖν μᾶλλον θεᾶσθαι καὶ ἡττον κακοπαθεῖν· ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐρπετοῖς πόδας ἔδωκαν, οἱ τὸ πορεύεσθαι μόνον παρέχουσιν, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ καὶ χεῖρας προσέθεσαν, αἱ τὰ πλείστα, οἷς εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἐκείνων ἐσμέν, ἐξεργάζονται.

- 12 καὶ μὴν γλωττάν γε πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐχόντων μόνην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησαν οἷαν ἄλλοτε

drop of all the water, and that of all the other mighty elements you received, I suppose, just a scrap towards the fashioning of your body? But as for mind, which alone, it seems, is without mass, do you think that you snapped it up by a lucky accident, and that the orderly ranks of all these huge masses, infinite in number, are due, forsooth, to a sort of absurdity?"

"Yes; for I don't see the master hand, whereas I 9 see the makers of things in this world."

"Neither do you see your own soul,¹ which has the mastery of the body; so that, as far as that goes, you may say that you do nothing by design, but everything by chance."

Here Aristodemus exclaimed: "Really, Socrates, 10 I don't despise the godhead. But I think it is too great to need my service."

"Then the greater the power that deigns to serve you, the more honour it demands of you."

"I assure you, that if I believed that the gods pay 11 any heed to man, I would not neglect them."

"Then do you think them unheeding? In the first place, man is the only living creature that they have caused to stand upright; and the upright position gives him a wider range of vision in front and a better view of things above, and exposes him less to injury. Secondly, to grovelling creatures they have given feet that afford only the power of moving, whereas they have endowed man with hands, which are the instruments to which we chiefly owe our greater happiness. Again, though all creatures have 12 a tongue, the tongue of man alone has been formed by them to be capable of contact with different parts

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. vii. 17.

ἀλλαχῇ ψαύουσαν τοῦ στόματος ἀρθροῦν τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ σημαίνειν πάντα ἀλλήλοις, ἃ βουλόμεθα. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδονὰς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ζώοις δοῦναι περιγράψαντας τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον, ἡμῖν δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι γήρως ταῦτα παρέχειν ;¹

- 13 Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἤρκεσε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυσε. τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου ζώου ψυχὴ πρῶτα μὲν θεῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα συνταξάντων ἦσθηται ὅτι εἰσί ; τί δὲ φύλον ἄλλο ἢ ἄνθρωποι θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι ; ποία δὲ ψυχὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἱκανωτέρα προφυλάττεσθαι ἢ λιμὸν ἢ δίψος ἢ ψύχη ἢ θάληνη ἢ νόσοις ἐπικουρῆσαι ἢ ῥώμην ἀσκῆσαι ἢ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐκπονῆσαι, ἢ ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ ἢ
- 14 ἴδῃ ἢ μάθῃ ἱκανωτέρα ἐστὶ διαμεμνῆσθαι ; οὐ γὰρ πάνυ σοι κατάδηλον, ὅτι παρὰ τὰλλα ζῶα ὥσπερ θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι βιοτεύουσιν, φύσει καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κρατιστεύοντες ; οὔτε γὰρ βοὸς ἂν ἔχων σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ γνώμην ἐδύνατ' ἂν πράττειν ἢ ἐβούλετο, οὔθ' ὅσα χεῖρας ἔχει, ἀφρονα δ' ἐστί, πλεον οὐδὲν ἔχει. σὺ δ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλείστου ἀξίων τετυχηκὼς οὐκ οἶεσον θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ; ἀλλ' ὅταν τί ποιήσωσι, νομιεῖς αὐτοὺς σου φροντίζειν ;

- 15 "Όταν πέμπωσιν, ὥσπερ σὺ φῆς πέμπειν αὐτούς, συμβούλους ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν. "Όταν δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, ἔφη, πυνθανομένοις τι διὰ μαντικῆς φράζωσιν, οὐ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖς φράζειν

¹ § 12 τὸ δὲ . . . παρέχειν is bracketed as spurious by Sauppe.

of the mouth, so as to enable us to articulate the voice and express all our wants to one another. Once more, for all other creatures they have prescribed a fixed season of sexual indulgence; in our case the only time limit they have set is old age.

“Nor was the deity content to care for man’s body. 13 What is of yet higher moment, he has implanted in him the noblest type of soul. For in the first place what other creature’s soul has apprehended the existence of gods who set in order the universe, greatest and fairest of things? And what race of living things other than man worships gods? And what soul is more apt than man’s to make provision against hunger and thirst, cold and heat, to relieve sickness and promote health, to acquire knowledge by toil, and to remember accurately all that is heard, seen, or learned? For is it not obvious to you that, in com- 14 parison with the other animals, men live like gods, by nature peerless both in body and in soul? For with a man’s reason and the body of an ox we could not carry out our wishes, and the possession of hands without reason is of little worth. Do you, then, having received the two most precious gifts, yet think that the gods take no care of you? What are they to do, to make you believe that they are heedful of you?”

“I will believe when they send counsellors, as you 15 declare they do, saying, ‘Do this, avoid that.’”

“But when the Athenians inquire of them by divination and they reply, do you not suppose that

- αὐτούς ; οὐδ' ὅταν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τέρατα πέμποντες
 προσημαίνωσιν, οὐδ' ὅταν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ
 μόνον σὲ ἐξαιροῦντες ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κατατίθενται ;
 16 οἷε δ' ἂν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόξαν
 ἐμφῦσαι, ὥς ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν,
 εἰ μὴ δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπα-
 τωμένους τὸν πάντα χρόνον οὐδέποτ' ἂν αἰσθέ-
 σθαι ; οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι τὰ πολυχροنیωτάτα καὶ
 σοφώτατα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη,
 θεοσεβέστατά ἐστι καὶ αἱ φρονιμώταται ἡλικίαι
 17 θεῶν ἐπιμελέσταται ; ὠγαθέ, ἔφη, κατάμαθε, ὅτι
 καὶ ὁ σὸς νοῦς ἐνὼν τὸ σὸν σῶμα ὅπως βούλεται
 μεταχειρίζεται. οἶεσθαι οὖν χρή καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ
 παντὶ φρόνησιν τὰ πάντα ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἡδὺ ᾖ,
 οὕτω τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὄμμα δύνασθαι
 ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια ἐξικνεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν, μηδὲ
 τὴν σὴν μὲν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε καὶ
 περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δύνασθαι
 φροντίζειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φρόνησιν μὴ ἱκανὴν
 18 εἶναι ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἦν μέντοι
 ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύων γινώσκεις τοὺς
 ἀντιθεραπεύειν ἐθέλοντας καὶ χαριζόμενος τοὺς
 ἀντιχαριζομένους καὶ συμβουλευόμενος καταμαν-
 θάνεις τοὺς φρονίμους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν πείραν
 λαμβάνης θεραπεύων, εἴ τί σοι θελήσουσι περὶ
 τῶν ἀδήλων ἀνθρώποις συμβουλεύειν, γνώσῃ τὸ
 θεῖον ὅτι τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥσθ' ἅμα
 πάντα ὁρᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν καὶ πανταχοῦ
 παρεῖναι καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
 19 Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων οὐ μόνον τοὺς συν-
 ὄντας ἐδόκει ποιεῖν, ὅποτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

to you, too, the answer is given? Or when they send portents for warning to the Greeks, or to all the world? Are you their one exception, the only one consigned to neglect? Or do you suppose that 16 the gods would have put into man a belief in their ability to help and harm, if they had not that power; and that man throughout the ages would never have detected the fraud? Do you not see that the wisest and most enduring of human institutions, cities and nations, are most god-fearing, and that the most thoughtful period of life is the most religious? Be 17 well assured, my good friend, that the mind within you directs your body according to its will; and equally you must think that Thought indwelling in the Universal disposes all things according to its pleasure. For think not that your eye can travel over many furlongs and yet god's eye cannot see the the whole world at once; that your soul can ponder on things in Egypt and in Sicily, and god's thought is not sufficient to pay heed to the whole world at once. Nay, but just as by serving men you find out 18 who is willing to serve you in return, by being kind who will be kind to you in return, and by taking counsel, discover the masters of thought, so try the gods by serving them, and see whether they will vouchsafe to counsel you in matters hidden from man. Then you will know that such is the greatness and such the nature of the deity that he sees all things¹ and hears all things alike, and is present in all places and heedful of all things."

To me at least it seemed that by these sayings he 19 kept his companions from impiety, injustice, and

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. vii. 22.

ὀρῶντο, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνοσίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε ἐν ἐρημίᾳ εἶεν, ἐπείπερ ἡγήσαιντο μηδὲν ἂν ποτε ὦν πράττοιεν θεοὺς διαλαθεῖν.

V. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγκράτεια καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὶ κτῆμά ἐστιν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα, εἴ τι προὔβιβαζε λέγων εἰς ταύτην τοιάδε·

ἽΩ ἄνδρες, εἰ πολέμου ἡμῖν γενομένου βουλοίμεθα ἐλέσθαι ἄνδρα, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ μὲν σωζοίμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους χειροίμεθα, ἅρ' ὄντιν' αἰσθανοίμεθα ἥττω γαστρὸς ἢ οἴνου ἢ ἀφροδισίων¹ ἢ ὕπνου, τοῦτον ἂν αἰροίμεθα; καὶ πῶς ἂν οἰηθείημεν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ ἡμᾶς σώσειν ἢ
 2 τοὺς πολεμίους κρατήσκειν; εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου γενομένοι βουλοίμεθά τῳ ἐπιτρέψαι ἢ παῖδας ἄρρενας παιδεῦσαι ἢ θυγατέρας παρθένους διαφυλάξαι ἢ χρήματα διασῶσαι, ἅρ' ἀξιόπιστον εἰς ταῦτα ἡγησόμεθα τὸν ἀκρατῆ; δούλω δ' ἀκρατεῖ ἐπιτρέψαιμεν ἂν ἢ βοσκήματα ἢ ταμειῖα ἢ ἔργων ἐπιστάσιαν; διάκονον δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστήν
 3 τοιοῦτον ἐθελήσαιμεν ἂν προῖκα λαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε μηδὲ δούλον ἀκρατῆ δεξαίμεθ' ἂν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτόν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πλεονέκται τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενοι χρήματα ἑαυτοὺς δοκοῦσι πλουτίζειν, οὕτως ὁ ἀκρατὴς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις βλαβερός, ἑαυτῷ δ' ὠφέλιμος, ἀλλὰ κακοῦργος μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πολὺ κακοургότερος, εἴ γε κακοургότατόν ἐστι μὴ μόνον τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φθείρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν
 4 ψυχὴν. ἐν συνουσίᾳ δὲ τίς ἂν ἡσθείη τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὃν εἰδείη τῷ ὄψῳ τε καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ

baseness, and that not only when they were seen by men, but even in solitude; since they ever felt that no deed of theirs could at any time escape the gods.

V. But if Self-control too is a fair and noble possession, let us now consider whether he led men up to that virtue by discourse like the following:

“My friends, if we were at war and wanted to choose a leader most capable of helping us to save ourselves and conquer the enemy, should we choose one whom we knew to be the slave of the belly, or of wine, or lust, or sleep? How could we expect that such an one would either save us or defeat the enemy? Or if at the end of our life we should wish 2 to appoint a guardian to educate our boys or protect our girls or to take care of our goods, should we think a loose liver a trustworthy man to choose? Should we entrust live stock or storehouses or the management of works to a vicious slave? Should we be willing to take as a gift a page or an errand-boy with such a character? Surely then, if we should 3 refuse a vicious slave, the master must look to it that he does not grow vicious himself? For whereas the covetous, by robbing other men of their goods, seem to enrich themselves, a vicious man reaps no advantage from the harm he does to others. If he is a worker of mischief to others, he brings much greater mischief on himself, if indeed the greatest mischief of all is to ruin not one’s home merely, but the body and the soul. In social intercourse what 4 pleasure could you find in such a man, knowing that

¹ Sauppe adds ἡ πόρου with the MSS. and Stobaeus, but it can hardly be right.

- χαίροντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τὰς πόρνas ἀγαπῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους ; ἄρα γε οὐ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπίδα ταύτην πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ
- 5 κατασκευάσασθαι ; τίς γὰρ ἄνευ ταύτης ἢ μάθοι τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἢ μελετήσκειν ἀξιολόγως ; ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς δουλεύων αἰσχροῶς διατεθείη καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ νῆ τὴν Ἦραν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ εὐκτὸν εἶναι μὴ τυχεῖν δούλου τοιούτου, δουλεύοντα δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡδοναῖς ἰκετεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς δεσποτῶν ἀγαθῶν τυχεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως ὁ τοιοῦτος σωθείη.
- 6 Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔτι ἐγκρατέστερον τοῖς ἔργοις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδείκνυεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν χρημάτων, νομίζων τὸν παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος χρήματα λαμβάνοντα δεσπότην ἑαυτοῦ καθιστάναι καὶ δουλεύειν δουλείαν οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττον αἰσχροάν.

VI. Ἄξιον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἂ πρὸς Ἀντιφῶντα τὸν σοφιστὴν διελέχθῃ μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιφῶν ποτε βουλόμενος τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ παρελέσθαι προσελθὼν τῷ Σωκράτει παρόντων αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε·

- 2 ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ μὲν ὥμην τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας εὐδαιμονεστέρους χρῆναι γίνεσθαι· σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς τὰναντία τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπολελαυκέσαι. ζῆς γοῦν οὕτως, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δούλος ὑπὸ δεσπότην διαιτώμενος μείνεις· σῖτά τε σιτῇ καὶ ποτὰ πίνεις τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἱμάτιον ἡμφίεσαι οὐ μόνον φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος,
- 3 ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς. καὶ μὴν
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he prefers your sauces and your wines to your friends, and likes the women¹ better than the company? Should not every man hold self-control to be the foundation of all virtue, and first lay this foundation firmly in his soul? For who without 5 this can learn any good or practise it worthily? Or what man that is the slave of his pleasures is not in an evil plight body and soul alike? From my heart I declare that every free man should pray not to have such a man among his slaves; and every man who is a slave to such pleasures should entreat the gods to give him good masters: thus, and only thus, may he find salvation."

Such were his words; but his own self-control 6 was shown yet more clearly by his deeds than by his words. For he kept in subjection not only the pleasures of the body, but those too that money brings, in the belief that he who takes money from any casual giver puts himself under a master and endures the basest form of slavery.

VI. It is due to him that a conversation he had with Antiphon the Sophist should not go unrecorded. Antiphon came to Socrates with the intention of drawing his companions away from him, and spoke thus in their presence.

"Socrates, I supposed that philosophy must add 2 to one's store of happiness. But the fruits you have reaped from philosophy are apparently very different. For example, you are living a life that would drive even a slave to desert his master. Your meat and drink are of the poorest: the cloak you wear is not only a poor thing, but is never changed summer or winter; and you never wear shoes or tunic. Besides 3

¹ Employed to entertain the guests at the banquet.

χρήματά γε οὐ λαμβάνεις, ἅ καὶ κτωμένους
εὐφραίνει καὶ κεκτημένους ἐλευθεριώτερόν τε καὶ
ἡδιον ποιεῖ ζῆν. εἰ οὖν ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἔργων οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοὺς μαθητὰς μιμητὰς
ἐαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ σὺ τοὺς συν-
όντας διαθήσεις, νόμιζε κακοδαιμονίας διδάσκαλος
εἶναι.

- 4 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε· Δοκεῖς μοι,
ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, ὑπειληφέναι με οὕτως ἀνιαρῶς ζῆν,
ὥστε πέπεισμαι σὲ μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἐλέσθαι
ἢ ζῆν ὥσπερ ἐγώ. ἴθι οὖν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, τί
5 χαλεπὸν ἦσθῃσαι τοῦμοῦ βίου. πότερον ὅτι
τοῖς μὲν λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν
ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦτο, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν μισθὸν λαμβά-
νωσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντι οὐκ ἀνάγκη
διαλέγεσθαι ᾧ ἂν μὴ βούλωμαι; ἢ τὴν δίαιτάν
μου φαυλίζεις ὥς ἦττον μὲν ὑγιεινὰ ἐσθίωντος
ἐμοῦ ἢ σοῦ, ἦττον δὲ ἰσχὺν παρέχοντα; ἢ ὥς
χαλεπώτερα πορίσασθαι τὰ ἐμὰ δαιτήματα τῶν
σῶν διὰ τὸ σπανιώτερά τε καὶ πολυτελέστερα
εἶναι; ἢ ὥς ἡδίω σοι ἢ σὺ παρασκευάζῃ ὄντα ἢ
ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐγώ; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἡδιστα ἐσθίων
ἡκιστα ὄψου δεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἡδιστα πίνων ἡκιστα
6 τοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθυμεῖ ποτοῦ; τά γε μὴν
ἱμάτια οἶσθ' ὅτι οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι ψύχους καὶ
θάλπους ἔνεκα μεταβάλλονται καὶ ὑποδήματα
ὑποδοῦνται, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὰ λυποῦντα τοὺς
πόδας κωλύωνται πορεύεσθαι· ἤδη οὖν ποτε
ἦσθου ἐμὲ ἢ διὰ ψῦχος μᾶλλον του ἔνδον μένοντα
ἢ διὰ θάλπος μαχόμενόν τω περὶ σκιᾶς ἢ διὰ τὸ
ἀλγεῖν τοὺς πόδας οὐ βαδίζοντα ὅποι ἂν βούλω-
7 μαι; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι οἱ φύσει ἀσθενέστατοι τῷ
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you refuse to take money, the mere getting of which is a joy, while its possession makes one more independent and happier. Now the professors of other subjects try to make their pupils copy their teachers: if you too intend to make your companions do that, you must consider yourself a professor of unhappiness."

To this Socrates replied:

4

"Antiphon, you seem to have a notion that my life is so miserable, that I feel sure you would choose death in preference to a life like mine. Come then, let us consider together what hardship you have noticed in my life. Is it that those who take money 5 are bound to carry out the work for which they get a fee, while I, because I refuse to take it, am not obliged to talk with anyone against my will? Or do you think my food poor because it is less wholesome than yours or less nourishing? or because my viands are harder to get than yours, being scarcer and more expensive? or because your diet is more enjoyable than mine? Do you not know that the greater the enjoyment of eating the less the need of sauce; the greater the enjoyment of drinking, the less the desire for drinks that are not available? As for cloaks, they are changed, as you know, on 6 account of cold or heat. And shoes are worn as a protection to the feet against pain and inconvenience in walking. Now did you ever know me to stay indoors more than others on account of the cold, or to fight with any man for the shade because of the heat, or to be prevented from walking anywhere by sore feet? Do you not know that by training, a puny 7

σώματι μελετήσαντες τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων ἀμελη-
 σάντων κρείττους τε γίνονται πρὸς ἂν μελετῶσι
 καὶ ῥᾶον αὐτὰ φέρουσιν ; ἐμὲ δὲ ἄρα οὐκ οἶει τῷ
 σώματι ἀεὶ τὰ συντυγχάνοντα μελετῶντα καρτε-
 8 ρεῖν πάντα ῥᾶον φέρειν σοῦ μὴ μελετῶντος ; τοῦ
 δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν γαστρὶ μηδ' ὕπνῳ καὶ λαγνείᾳ
 οἶει τι ἄλλο αἰτιώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ἕτερα ἔχειν
 τούτων ἡδίων, ἃ οὐ μόνον ἐν χρεῖα ὄντα εὐφραίνει,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίδας παρέχοντα ὠφελήσειν ἀεὶ ; καὶ
 μὴν τοῦτό γε οἶσθα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι μηδὲν εὖ
 πράττειν οὐκ εὐφραίνονται, οἱ δὲ ἡγούμενοι καλῶς
 προχωρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ γεωργίαν ἢ ναυκληρίαν ἢ
 ἄλλ' ὅτι ἂν τυγχάνωσιν ἐργαζόμενοι ὥς εὖ
 9 πράττοντες εὐφραίνονται. οἶει οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων
 τούτων τοσαύτην ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὅσην ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἑαυτὸν τε ἡγεῖσθαι βελτίῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ φίλους
 ἀμείνους κτᾶσθαι ; ἐγὼ τοίνυν διατελῶ ταῦτα
 νομίζων.¹

Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ φίλους ἢ πόλιν ὠφελεῖν δέῃ, ποτέρῳ
 ἢ πλείων σχολὴ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῷ ὥς ἐγὼ
 νῦν ἢ τῷ ὥς σὺ μακαρίζεις διαιτωμένῳ ; στρα-
 τεύοιτο δὲ πότερος ἂν ῥᾶον, ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἄνευ
 πολυτελοῦς διαίτης ζῆν ἢ ὧ τὸ παρὸν ἀρκοίῃ ;
 ἐκπολιορκηθείῃ δὲ πότερος ἂν θᾶπτον, ὁ τῶν
 χαλεπωτάτων εὐρεῖν δεόμενος ἢ ὁ τοῖς ῥάστοις
 ἐντυγχάνειν ἀρκούντως χρώμενος ;
 10 Ἐοικας, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰομένῳ
 τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὸ
 μὲν μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι θεῖον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὥς ελαχίστων

¹ § 9 ἐγὼ . . . νομίζων is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.

weakling comes to be better at any form of exercise he practises, and gets more staying power, than the muscular prodigy who neglects to train? Seeing then that I am always training my body to answer any and every call on its powers, do you not think that I can stand every strain better than you can without training? For avoiding slavery to the belly 8 or to sleep and incontinence, is there, think you, any more effective specific than the possession of other and greater pleasures, which are delightful not only to enjoy, but also because they arouse hopes of lasting benefit? And again, you surely know that while he who supposes that nothing goes well with him is unhappy, he who believes that he is successful in farming or a shipping concern or any other business he is engaged in is happy in the thought of his prosperity. Do you think then that out of all 9 this thinking there comes anything so pleasant as the thought: 'I am growing in goodness and I am making better friends?' And that, I may say, is my constant thought.

"Further, if help is wanted by friends or city, which of the two has more leisure to supply their needs, he who lives as I am living or he whose life you call happy? Which will find soldiering the easier task, he who cannot exist without expensive food or he who is content with what he can get? Which when besieged will surrender first, he who wants what is very hard to come by or he who can make shift with whatever is at hand?

"You seem, Antiphon, to imagine that happiness 10 consists in luxury and extravagance. But my belief is that to have no wants is divine; ¹ to have as few as

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. iii. 40.

- ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον κράτιστον, τὸ δ' ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ κρατίστου.
- 11 Πάλιν δέ ποτε ὁ Ἀντιφῶν διαλεγόμενος τῷ Σωκράτει εἶπεν·
- ᾽Ω Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ τοί σε δίκαιον μὲν νομίζω, σοφὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν· δοκεῖς δέ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν· οὐδένα γὰρ τῆς συνουσίας ἀργύριον πράττη. καίτοι τό γε ἱμάτιον ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ὧν κέκτησθαι νομίζων ἀργυρίου ἄξιον εἶναι οὐδενὶ ἂν μὴ ὅτι προῖκα δοίης, ἀλλ'
- 12 οὐδ' ἔλαττον τῆς ἀξίας λαβών. δῆλον δὴ, ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν ὧν τινὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι, καὶ ταύτης ἂν οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς ἀξίας ἀργύριον ἐπράττου. δίκαιος μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπατᾷς ἐπὶ πλεονεξία, σοφὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν, μηδενὸς γε ἄξια ἐπιστάμενος.
- 13 Ὅ δὲ Σωκράτης πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· ᾽Ω Ἀντιφῶν, παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλόν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι. τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν εἰ μὲν τις ἀργυρίου πωλῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ, πόρνον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦσιν, εἰ μὲν τις δὲ ἂν γνῶ καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐραστὴν ὄντα, τοῦτον φίλον ἑαυτῷ ποιῇται, σώφρονα νομίζομεν· καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας σοφιστὰς ὥσπερ πόρνους¹ ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὅστις δὲ ὅν ἂν γνῶ εὐφυᾶ ὄντα διδάσκων ὅτι ἂν ἔχῃ ἀγαθὸν φίλον ποιεῖται, τοῦτον νομίζομεν ἂν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ
- 14 πολίτῃ προσήκει, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, ὥσπερ ἄλλος τις ἢ ἵππῳ ἀγαθῷ ἢ κυνὶ ἢ ὄρνιθι ἥδεται, οὕτω καὶ ἔτι

possible comes next to the divine ; and as that which is divine is supreme, so that which approaches nearest to its nature is nearest to the supreme."

In another conversation with Socrates Antiphon 11 said :

"Socrates, I for my part believe you to be a just, but by no means a wise man. And I think you realise it yourself. Anyhow, you decline to take money for your society. Yet if you believed your cloak or house or anything you possess to be worth money, you would not part with it for nothing or even for less than its value. Clearly, then, if you 12 set any value on your society, you would insist on getting the proper price for that too. It may well be that you are a just man because you do not cheat people through avarice ; but wise you cannot be, since your knowledge is not worth anything."

To this Socrates replied :

13

"Antiphon, it is common opinion among us in regard to beauty and wisdom that there is an honourable and a shameful way of bestowing them. For to offer one's beauty for money to all comers is called prostitution ; but we think it virtuous to become friendly with a lover who is known to be a man of honour. So is it with wisdom. Those who offer it to all comers for money are known as sophists, prostitutes of wisdom, but we think that he who makes a friend of one whom he knows to be gifted by nature, and teaches him all the good he can, fulfils the duty of a citizen and a gentleman. That is my 14 own view, Antiphon. Others have a fancy for a good horse or dog or bird : my fancy, stronger even

¹ ὥσπερ πόρνους is bracketed by Sauppe after Ruhnken.

μᾶλλον ἡδομαι φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐάν τι ἔχω ἀγαθόν, διδάσκω καὶ ἄλλοις συνίστημι, παρ' ὧν ἂν ἡγῶμαι ὠφελήσεσθαι τι αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀρετήν. καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνελίττων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι, καὶ ἂν τι ὀρώμεν ἀγαθόν, ἐκλεγόμεθα καὶ μέγα νομίζομεν κέρδος, ἐὰν ἀλλήλοις ὠφέλιμοι γιγνώμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντι ἐδόκει αὐτός τε μακάριος εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίαν ἄγειν.

- 15 Καὶ πάλιν ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ἐρομένου αὐτόν, πῶς ἄλλους μὲν ἡγοῖτο πολιτικούς ποιεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ πράττοι τὰ πολιτικά, εἴπερ ἐπίσταιτο. Ποτέρως δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, μᾶλλον τὰ πολιτικά πράττοιμι, εἰ μόνος αὐτὰ πράττοιμι ἢ εἰ ἐπιμελοῖμην τοῦ ὥς πλείστους ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πράττειν αὐτά;

VII. Ἐπισκεψώμεθα δέ, εἰ καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἀποτρέπων τοὺς συνόντας ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προέτρεπεν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ εἴη καλλίων ὁδὸς ἐπ' εὐδοξίαν ἢ δι' ἧς ἂν τις ἀγαθὸς τοῦτο γένοιτο, ὃ καὶ δοκεῖν βούλοιτο.

- 2 "Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ ἔλεγεν, ὧδ' ἐδίδασκεν. Ἐνθυμώμεθα γάρ, ἔφη, εἴ τις μὴ ὧν ἀγαθὸς αὐλητῆς δοκεῖν βούλοιτο, τί ἂν αὐτῷ ποιητέον εἴη. ἂρ' οὐ τὰ ἔξω τῆς τέχνης μιμητέον τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αὐλητάς; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι σκευὴν τε καλὴν κέκτηνται καὶ ἀκολουθοὺς πολλοὺς περιάγονται, καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ποιητέον· ἔπειτα ὅτι ἐκείνους πολλοὶ ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαινέτας παρασκευαστέον. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔργον γε

than theirs, is for good friends. And I teach them all the good I can, and recommend them to others from whom I think they will get some moral benefit. And the treasures that the wise men of old have left us in their writings I open and explore with my friends. If we come on any good thing, we extract it, and we set much store on being useful to one another."

For my part, when I heard these words fall from his lips, I judged him to be a happy man himself and to be putting his hearers in the way of being gentlemen.

On yet another occasion Antiphon asked him: 15
"How can you suppose that you make politicians of others, when you yourself avoid politics even if you understand them?"

"How now, Antiphon?" he retorted, "should I play a more important part in politics by engaging in them alone or by taking pains to turn out as many competent politicians as possible?"

VII. Let us next consider whether by discouraging imposture he encouraged his companions to cultivate virtue.¹ For he always said that the best road to glory is the way that makes a man as good as he wishes to be thought. And this was how he demonstrated the truth of this saying:

"Suppose a bad flute-player wants to be thought 2
a good one, let us note what he must do. Must he not imitate good players in the accessories of the art? First, as they wear fine clothes and travel with many attendants, he must do the same. Further, seeing that they win the applause of crowds, he must provide himself with a large *claque*. But, of

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 22.

- οὐδαμοῦ ληπτέον ἢ εὐθύς ἐλεγχθήσεται γελοῖος
ὦν καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς κακός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἄνθρωπος ἀλαζών. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν δαπανῶν,
μηδὲν δ' ὠφελούμενος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κακοδοξῶν
πῶς οὐκ ἐπιπόνως τε καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς καὶ κατα-
3 γελάστως βιώσεται; ὥς δ' αὕτως εἴ τις βούλοιτο
στρατηγὸς ἀγαθὸς μὴ ὦν φαίνεσθαι ἢ κυβερνήτης,
ἐννοῶμεν, τί ἂν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοι. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν, εἰ
μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἱκανὸς εἶναι ταῦτα
πράττειν μὴ δύναίτο πείθειν, τοῦτ' εἴη λυπηρόν,
εἰ δὲ πείσειεν, ἔτι ἀθλιώτερον; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
κυβερνᾶν κατασταθεὶς ὁ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἢ
στρατηγεῖν ἀπολέσειεν ἂν οὓς ἥκιστα βούλοιτο
καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσchrῶς ἂν καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξειεν.
4 Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πλούσιον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ
τὸ ἰσχυρὸν μὴ ὄντα δοκεῖν ἀλυσιτελεῖς ἀπέφαινε
προστάττεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔφη μείζω ἢ κατὰ
δύναμιν καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν δοκοῦντας
ἱκανοὺς εἶναι συγγνώμης οὐκ ἂν τυγχάνειν.
5 ἀπατεῶνα δ' ἐκάλει οὐ μικρὸν μὲν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον
ἢ σκεῦος παρά του πειθοῖ λαβὼν ἀποστεροίη,
πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ὅστις μηδενὸς ἄξιος ὦν ἐξηπατή-
κοι πείθων, ὥς ἱκανὸς εἴη τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖσθαι.
Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι
ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας τοιαύδε διαλεγόμενος.

course, he must never accept an engagement, or he will promptly expose himself to ridicule as an incompetent player and an impostor to boot. And so, what with incurring heavy expense and gaining nothing, and bringing disgrace on himself as well, he will make his life burdensome, unprofitable and ridiculous. So too if a man who is not a general or 3 a pilot wanted to be thought a good one, let us imagine what would happen to him. If his efforts to seem proficient in these duties failed to carry conviction, would not his failure be galling to him? if they succeeded, would not his success be still more disastrous? for it is certain that if a man who knew nothing about piloting a ship or commanding an army were appointed to such work, he would lose those whom he least wanted to lose and would bring ruin and disgrace on himself."

By similar reasoning he would show how un- 4 profitable is a reputation for wealth or courage or strength when it is undeserved. "Tasks beyond their powers," he would say, "are laid on the incompetent, and no mercy is shown to them when they disappoint the expectation formed of their capability. The man who persuades you to lend 5 him money or goods and then keeps them is without doubt a rogue; but much the greatest rogue of all is the man who has gulled his city into the belief that he is fit to direct it."

For my part I thought that such talks did discourage imposture among his companions.

BOOK II

B

Ι. Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων προτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν [πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν] βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ῥίγους καὶ θάλπους καὶ πόνου. γνούς δέ τινα τῶν συνόντων ἀκολαστοτέρως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε, εἰ δέοι σε παιδεύειν παραλαβόντα δύο τῶν νέων, τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἱκανὸς ἔσται ἄρχειν, τὸν δ' ὅπως μὴδ' ἀντιποιήσεται ἀρχῆς, πῶς ἂν ἐκάτερον παιδεύοις; βούλει σκοπῶμεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων;

Καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἔφη. Δοκεῖ γοῦν μοι ἡ τροφή ἀρχὴ εἶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ζῶη γ' ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ τρέφοιτο.

- 2 Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν βούλεσθαι σίτου ἄπτεσθαι, ὅταν ὥρα ἦκη, ἀμφοτέροις εἰκὸς παραγίγνεσθαι;
Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφη.

Τὸ οὖν προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ κατεπεῖγον μᾶλλον πράττειν ἢ τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι πότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ἐθίζοιμεν;

Τὸν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἔφη, νὴ Δία παιδευόμενον, ὅπως μὴ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄπρακτα γίγνηται παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχήν.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν πιεῖν βούλωνται, τὸ δύνασθαι διψῶντα ἀνέχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ προσθετέον;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

BOOK II

I. IN other conversations I thought that he exhorted his companions to practise self-control in the matter of eating and drinking, and sexual indulgence, and sleeping, and endurance of cold and heat and toil. Aware that one of his companions was rather intemperate in such matters, he said : "Tell me, Aristippus, if you were required to take charge of two youths and educate them so that the one would be fit to rule and the other would never think of putting himself forward, how would you educate them? Shall we consider it, beginning with the elementary question of food?"

"Oh yes," replied Aristippus, "food does seem to come first; for one can't live without food."

"Well, now, will not a desire for food naturally arise in both at certain times?"

"Yes, naturally."

"Now which of the two should we train in the habit of transacting urgent business before he satisfies his hunger?"

"The one who is being trained to rule, undoubtedly; else State business might be neglected during his tenure."

"And must not the same one be given power to resist thirst when both want to drink?"

"Certainly."

- 3 Τὸ δὲ ὕπνου ἐγκρατῇ εἶναι, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ ὀψὲ κοιμηθῆναι καὶ πρῶτ' ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσαι, εἴ τι δέοι, ποτέρῳ ἂν προσθείημεν ;

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τί δέ, ἔφη, τὸ ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατῇ εἶναι, ὥστε μὴ διὰ ταῦτα κωλύεσθαι πράττειν, εἴ τι δέοι ;

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τί δέ, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους, ἀλλ' ἐθελοντὴν ὑπομένειν, ποτέρῳ ἂν προσθείημεν ;

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ ἄρχειν παιδευομένῳ.

Τί δέ, τὸ μαθεῖν εἴ τι ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι μάθημα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ποτέρῳ ἂν προσθεῖναι μᾶλλον πρέποι ;

Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ ἄρχειν παιδευομένῳ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἄνευ τῶν τοιούτων μαθημάτων.

- 4 Οὐκοῦν ὁ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ἦττον ἂν δοκεῖ σοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα ἀλίσκεσθαι ; τούτων γὰρ δήπου τὰ μὲν γαστρὶ δελεαζόμενα, καὶ μάλα ἔνια δυσωπούμενα, ὅμως τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ φαγεῖν ἀγόμενα πρὸς τὸ δέλεαρ ἀλίσκεται, τὰ δὲ ποτῷ ἐνεδρεύεται.

Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ λαγνείας, οἷον οἱ τε ὄρνυγες καὶ οἱ πέρδικες, πρὸς τὴν τῆς θηλείας φωνὴν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀφροδισίων φερόμενοι καὶ ἐξιστάμενοι τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ ἀναλογίζεσθαι τοῖς θηράτροις ἐμπίπτουσι ;

- 5 Συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα.

Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτ' ἀσχεῖν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις τῶν θηρίων ; ὥσπερ οἱ μοιχοὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὰς εἰρκτὰς εἰδότες, ὅτι

“And to which shall we give the power of limiting 3
his sleep so that he can go late to bed and get up
early, and do without sleep if need be?”

“To the same again.”

“And the power to control his passions, so that he
may not be hindered in doing necessary work?”

“To the same again.”

“And to which shall we give the habit of not
shirking a task, but undertaking it willingly?”

“That too will go to the one who is being trained
to rule.”

“And to which would the knowledge needful
for overcoming enemies be more appropriately
given?”

“Without doubt to the one who is being trained to
rule; for the other lessons would be useless with-
out such knowledge.”

“Don’t you think that with this education he will 4
be less likely to be caught by his enemy than other
creatures? Some of them, you know, are so greedy,
that in spite of extreme timidity in some cases, they
are drawn irresistibly to the bait to get food, and are
caught; and others are snared by drink.”

“Yes, certainly.”

“Others again—quails and partridges, for instance
—are so amorous, that when they hear the cry of
the female, they are carried away by desire and
anticipation, throw caution to the winds and blunder
into the nets. Is it not so?”

He agreed again.

5

“Now, don’t you think it disgraceful that a man
should be in the same plight as the silliest of wild
creatures? Thus an adulterer enters the women’s

κίνδυνος τῷ μοιχεύοντι ἅ τε ὁ νόμος ἀπειλεῖ παθεῖν καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆναι καὶ ληφθέντα ὑβρισθῆναι καὶ τηλικούτων μὲν ἐπικειμένων τῷ μοιχεύοντι κακῶν τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἀπολυσόντων τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ἀδείᾳ, ὅμως εἰς τὰ ἐπικίνδυνα φέρεσθαι, ἂρ' οὐκ ἤδη τοῦτο παντάπασι κακοδαιμονῶντός ἐστιν ;

Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη.

- 6 Τὸ δὲ εἶναι μὲν τὰς ἀναγκαιοτάτας πλείστας πράξεις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, οἷον τὰς τε πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς γεωργικὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐ τὰς ἐλαχίστας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀγυμνάστως ἔχειν πρὸς τε ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πολλὴ ἀμέλεια εἶναι ;

Συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο.

Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ἀσκεῖν δεῖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐπετῶς φέρειν ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

- 7 Οὐκοῦν εἰ τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖς τούτων ἀπάντων εἰς τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς τάττομεν, τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ταῦτα ποιεῖν εἰς τοὺς μηδ' ἀντιποιησομένους τοῦ ἄρχειν τάξομεν ;

Συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο.

Τί οὖν ; ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτων ἑκατέρου τοῦ φύλου τὴν τάξιν οἶσθα, ἤδη ποτ' ἐπεσκέψω, εἰς ποτέραν τῶν τάξεων τούτων σαυτὸν δικαίως ἂν τάττοις ;

- 8 Ἔγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, καὶ οὐδαμῶς γε τάττω ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων τάξιν. καὶ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ἄφρονος ἀνθρώπου εἶναι τὸ μεγάλου ἔργου ὄντος τοῦ ἑαυτῷ τὰ δέοντα παρασκευάζειν μὴ ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ προσαναθέσθαι τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὧν δέονται

quarters, knowing that by committing adultery he is in danger of incurring the penalties threatened by the law, and that he may be trapped, caught and ill-treated. When such misery and disgrace hang over the adulterer's head, and there are many remedies to relieve him of his carnal desire without risk, is it not sheer lunacy to plunge headlong into danger?"

"Yes, I think it is."

"And considering that the great majority of 6 essential occupations, warfare, agriculture and very many others, are carried on in the open air, don't you think it gross negligence that so many men are untrained to withstand cold and heat?"

He agreed again.

"Don't you think then, that one who is going to rule must adapt himself to bear them lightly?"

"Certainly."

"If then we classify those who control themselves 7 in all these matters as 'fit to rule,' shall we not classify those who cannot behave so as men with no claim to be rulers?"

He agreed again.

"Well now, as you know the category to which each of these species belongs, have you ever considered in which category you ought to put yourself?"

"I have; and I do not for a moment put myself 8 in the category of those who want to be rulers.¹ For considering how hard a matter it is to provide for one's own needs, I think it absurd not to be content to do that, but to shoulder the burden of supplying the wants of the community as well. That

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 7; VII. ii, 26 f.

- πορίζειν· καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν πολλὰ ὦν βούλεται ἐλλείπειν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως προεστῶτα, ἔαν μὴ πάντα, ὅσα ἡ πόλις βούλεται, καταπράττη, τούτου δίκην ὑπέχειν, τοῦτο πῶς οὐ πολλὴ
- 9 ἀφροσύνη ἐστί ; καὶ γὰρ ἀξιούσιν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τοῖς οἰκέταις χρῆσθαι. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ἀξιῶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐμοὶ μὲν ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μηδενὸς τούτων ἄπτεσθαι, αἵ τε πόλεις οἴονται χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἑαυταῖς μὲν ὡς πλείιστα ἀγαθὰ πορίζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις παρέχειν οὕτως ἂν παιδεύσας εἰς τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς καταστήσαιμι· ἑμαυτὸν γε μέντοι τάττω εἰς τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ ῥᾶστα τε καὶ ἡδιστα βιοτεύειν.
- 10 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Βούλει οὖν καὶ τοῦτο σκεψώμεθα, πότεροι ἡδιον ζῶσιν, οἱ ἄρχοντες ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
- Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὦν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πέρσαι μὲν ἄρχουσιν, ἄρχονται δὲ Σύροι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοί· ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Σκύθαι μὲν ἄρχουσι, Μαιῶται δὲ ἄρχονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἄρχουσι, Λίβυες δὲ ἄρχονται. τούτων οὖν ποτέρους ἡδιον οἶει ζῆν ; ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶ, πότεροί σοι δοκοῦσιν ἡδιον, οἱ κρατοῦντες ἢ οἱ κρατούμενοι, ζῆν ;
- 11 Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν δουλείαν αὖ ἑμαυτὸν τάττω, ἀλλ' εἶναί τίς μοι δοκεῖ μέση τούτων ὁδός, ἣν πειρῶμαι βαδίζειν, οὔτε δι' ἀρχῆς οὔτε διὰ δουλείας, ἀλλὰ δι'

anyone should sacrifice a large part of his own wishes and make himself accountable as head of the state for the least failure to carry out all the wishes of the community is surely the height of folly. For states claim to treat their rulers just as I claim to treat my servants. I expect my men to provide me with necessaries in abundance, but not to touch any of them; and states hold it to be the business of the ruler to supply them with all manner of good things, and to abstain from all of them himself. And so, should anyone want to bring plenty of trouble on himself and others, I would educate him as you propose and number him with 'those fitted to be rulers': but myself I classify with those who wish for a life of the greatest ease and pleasure that can be had." 9

Here Socrates asked: "Shall we then consider 10 whether the rulers or the ruled live the pleasanter life?"

"Certainly," replied Aristippus.

"To take first the nations known to us. In Asia the rulers are the Persians; the Syrians, Lydians and Phrygians are the ruled. In Europe the Scythians rule, and the Maeotians are ruled. In Africa the Carthaginians rule, and the Libyans are ruled. Which of the two classes, think you, enjoys the pleasanter life? Or take the Greeks, of whom you yourself are one; do you think that the controlling or the controlled communities enjoy the pleasanter life?"

"Nay," replied Aristippus, "for my part I am no 11 candidate for slavery; but there is, as I hold, a middle path in which I am fain to walk. That way leads neither through rule nor slavery, but

ἐλευθερίας, ἥπερ μάλιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγει.

- 12 'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ οὔτε δι' ἀρχῆς οὔτε διὰ δουλείας ἡ ὁδὸς αὕτη φέρει, οὕτως μηδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἴσως ἂν τι λέγοις· εἰ μέντοι ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὦν μήτε ἄρχειν ἀξιῶσεις μήτε ἄρχεσθαι μηδὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκὼν θεραπεύσεις, οἶμαί σε ὁρᾶν, ὡς ἐπίστανται οἱ κρείττονες τοὺς ἥττονας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ κλαίοντας καθίσαντες
- 13 δούλοις χρῆσθαι. ἡ λαυθάνουσί σε οἱ ἄλλωι σπειράντων καὶ φυτευσάντων τὸν τε σῖτον τέμνοντες καὶ δενδροκοποῦντες καὶ πάντα τρόπον πολιορκοῦντες τοὺς ἥττονας καὶ μὴ θέλοντας θεραπεύειν, ἕως ἂν πείσωσιν ἐλέσθαι δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι; καὶ ἰδίᾳ αὖ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ δυνατοὶ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀδυνάτους οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι καταδουλωσάμενοι καρποῦνται;

'Αλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ἵνα μὴ πάσχω ταῦτα, οὐδ' εἰς πολιτείαν ἐμαντὸν κατακλείω, ἀλλὰ ξένος πανταχοῦ εἶμι.

- 14 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Τοῦτο μέντοι ἤδη λέγεις δεινὸν πάλαισμα. τοὺς γὰρ ξένους, ἐξ οὗ ὃ τε Σίνις καὶ ὁ Σκείρων καὶ ὁ Προκρούστης ἀπέθανον, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀδικεῖ· ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ μὲν πολιτευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ νόμους τίθενται, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται, καὶ φίλους πρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καλουμένοις ἄλλους κτῶνται βοηθοὺς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρύματα περιβάλλονται καὶ ὅπλα κτῶνται, οἷς ἀμυνοῦνται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλους ἔξωθεν συμμάχους κατασκευάζονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένοι

through liberty, which is the royal road to happiness."

"Ah," said Socrates, "if only that path can avoid 12 the world as well as rule and slavery, there may be something in what you say. But, since you are in the world, if you intend neither to rule nor to be ruled, and do not choose to truckle to the rulers—I think you must see that the stronger have a way of making the weaker rue their lot both in public and 13 in private life, and treating them like slaves. You cannot be unaware that where some have sown and planted, others cut their corn and fell their trees, and in all manner of ways harass the weaker if they refuse to bow down, until they are persuaded to accept slavery as an escape from war with the stronger. So, too, in private life do not brave and mighty men enslave and plunder the cowardly and feeble folk?"

"Yes, but my plan for avoiding such treatment is this. I do not shut myself up in the four corners of a community, but am a stranger in every land."

"A very cunning trick, that!" cried Socrates, 14 "for ever since the death of Sinis and Sceiron and Procrustes¹ no one injures strangers! And yet nowadays those who take a hand in the affairs of their homeland pass laws to protect themselves from injury, get friends to help them over and above those whom nature has given them, encompass their cities with fortresses, get themselves weapons to ward off the workers of mischief; and besides all this seek to make allies in other lands; and in spite of all these precautions, they are still wronged.

¹ Highwaymen slain by Theseus, Plutarch, *Thes.* c. 8 f.

- 15 ὅμως ἀδικοῦνται· σὺ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἔχων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἔνθα πλείστοι ἀδικοῦνται, πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβων, εἰς ὁποίαν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἀφίκη, τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἡττων ὦν καὶ τοιοῦτος οἷος μάλιστα ἐπιτίθενται οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀδικεῖν, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι οὐκ ἂν οἶε ἀδικηθῆναι; ἢ διότι αἱ πόλεις σοι κηρύττουσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι, θαρρεῖς; ἢ διότι καὶ δοῦλος ἂν οἶε τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἷος μηδενὶ δεσπότη ἡσυχάζειν; τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐθέλοι ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχειν πονεῖν μὲν μηδὲν ἐθέλοντα, τῇ δὲ πολυτελεστάτῃ διαίτῃ χαίροντα;
- 16 Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς οἱ δεσπότη τοῖς τοιούτοις οἰκέταις χρῶνται. ἄρα οὐ τὴν μὲν λαγνείαν αὐτῶν τῷ λιμῷ σωφρονίζουσι; κλέπτειν δὲ κωλύουσιν ἀποκλείοντες ὅθεν ἂν τι λαβεῖν ἦ; τοῦ δὲ δραπετεύειν δεσμοῖς ἀπείργουσι; τὴν ἀργίαν δὲ πληγαῖς ἐξαναγκάζουσιν; ἢ σὺ πῶς ποιεῖς, ὅταν τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα τοιοῦτον ὄντα καταμανθάνῃς;
- 17 Κολάζω, ἔφη, πᾶσι κακοῖς, ἕως ἂν δουλεύειν ἀναγκάσω. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἱ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην παιδευόμενοι, ἣν δοκεῖς μοι σὺ νομίζειν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι, τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθόντων, εἴ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγώσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα μοχθήσουσιν ἐκόντες; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι διαφέρει τὸ αὐτὸ δέρμα ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα μαστιγοῦσθαι ἢ ὅλως τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα πολιορκεῖσθαι· ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀφροσύνη πρόσεστι τῷ θέλοντι τὰ λυπηρὰ ὑπομένειν;

But you, with none of these advantages, spend 15 much time on the open road, where so many come to harm; and into whatever city you enter, you rank below all its citizens, and are one of those specially marked down for attack by intending wrongdoers; and yet, because you are a stranger, do you expect to escape injury? What gives you confidence? Is it that the cities by proclamation guarantee your safety in your coming and going? Or is it the thought that no master would find you worth having among his slaves? For who would care to have a man in his house who wants to do no work and has a weakness for high living?

“But now let us see how masters treat such 16 servants. Do they not starve them to keep them from immorality, lock up the stores to stop their stealing, clap fetters on them so that they can’t run away, and beat the laziness out of them with whips? What do you do yourself to cure such faults among your servants?”

“I make their lives a burden to them until I 17 reduce them to submission. But how about those who are trained in the art of kingship, Socrates, which you appear to identify with happiness? How are they better off than those whose sufferings are compulsory, if they must bear hunger, thirst, cold, sleeplessness, and endure all these tortures willingly? For if the same back gets the flogging whether its owner kicks or consents, or, in short, if the same body, consenting or objecting, is besieged by all these torments, I see no difference, apart from the folly of voluntary suffering.”

- 18 Τί δέ, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε, ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη, οὐ δοκεῖ
 σοι τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρειν τὰ ἐκούσια τῶν
 ἀκουσίων, ἥ ὁ μὲν ἐκὼν πεινῶν φάγοι ἂν ὁπότε
 βούλοιτο καὶ ὁ ἐκὼν διψῶν πίοι καὶ τᾶλλα
 ὡσαύτως, τῷ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ταῦτα πάσχοντι οὐκ
 ἔξεστιν ὁπότεν βούληται παύεσθαι; ἔπειτα ὁ
 μὲν ἐκουσίως ταλαιπωρῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ ἐλπίδι
 πονῶν εὐφραίνεται, οἶον οἱ τὰ θηρία θηρῶντες
 19 ἐλπίδι τοῦ λήψεσθαι ἡδέως μοχθοῦσι. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 τοιαῦτα ἄθλα τῶν πόνων μικροῦ τινος ἄξιά ἐστι·
 τοὺς δὲ πονοῦντας, ἵνα φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσωνται
 ἢ ὅπως ἐχθροὺς χειρώσονται ἢ ἵνα δυνατοὶ γενό-
 μενοι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τὸν
 ἑαυτῶν οἶκον καλῶς οἰκῶσι καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ
 ποιῶσι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετῶσι, πῶς οὐκ
 οἶεσθαι χρὴ τούτους καὶ πονεῖν ἡδέως εἰς τὰ
 τοιαῦτα καὶ ζῆν εὐφραινομένους, ἀγαμένους μὲν
 ἑαυτούς, ἐπαινουμένους δὲ καὶ ζηλουμένους ὑπὸ
 20 τῶν ἄλλων; ἔτι δὲ αἱ μὲν ῥαδιουργίαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 παραχρήμα ἡδοῖναι οὔτε σώματι εὐεξίαν ἱκαναί
 εἰσιν ἐνεργάζεσθαι, ὥς φασιν οἱ γυμνασταί, οὔτε
 ψυχῇ ἐπιστήμην ἀξιόλογον οὐδεμίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν,
 αἱ δὲ διὰ καρτερίας ἐπιμέλειαί τῶν καλῶν τε
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων ἐξικνεῖσθαι ποιοῦσιν, ὥς φασιν
 οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες. λέγει δέ που καὶ Ἡσίοδος·

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν
 ἐλέσθαι

ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.
 τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα· θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
 ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
 καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
 ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

“What, Aristippus,” exclaimed Socrates, “don’t 18
 you think that there is just this difference between
 these voluntary and involuntary sufferings, that if
 you bear hunger or thirst willingly, you can eat,
 drink, or what not, when you choose, whereas com-
 pulsory suffering is not to be ended at will? Besides,
 he who endures willingly enjoys his work because he
 is comforted by hope; hunters, for instance, toil
 gladly in hope of game. Rewards like these are 19
 indeed of little worth after all the toil; but what of
 those who toil to win good friends, or to subdue
 enemies, or to make themselves capable in body and
 soul of managing their own homes well, of helping
 their friends and serving their country? Surely
 these toil gladly for such prizes and live a joyous life,
 well content with themselves, praised and envied
 by everyone else? Moreover, indolence and present 20
 enjoyment can never bring the body into good con-
 dition, as trainers say, neither do they put into the
 soul knowledge of any value, but strenuous effort
 leads up to good and noble deeds, as good men say.
 And so says Hesiod somewhere: ¹

‘Wickedness can be had in abundance easily:
 smooth is the road and very nigh she dwells. But
 in front of virtue the gods immortal have put sweat:
 long and steep is the path to her and rough at first;
 but when you reach the top, then at length the
 road is easy, hard though it was.’

¹ *Works and Days*, 285.

μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν τῷδε·

Τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰγάθ' οἱ
θεοί.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόπῳ φησὶν·

ὦ πονηρέ, μὴ τὰ μαλακὰ μῶσο, μὴ τὰ σκλήρ'
ἔχης.¹

- 21 Καὶ Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ
περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδεί-
κνυται, ὡσαύτως περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνεται,
ὧδέ πως λέγων, ὅσα ἐγὼ μέμνημαι.

- Φησὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἡβὴν
ὥρμᾶτο, ἐν ἧ οἱ νέοι ἤδη αὐτοκράτορες γιγνόμενοι
δηλοῦσιν, εἴτε τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν
βίον εἴτε τὴν διὰ κακίας, ἐξελθόντα εἰς ἡσυχίαν
καθῆσθαι ἀποροῦντα, ποτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν τράπηται·
22 καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναῖκας προσιέναι μεγά-
λας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν εὐπρεπῇ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέ-
ριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι,
τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη,
ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν τεθραμμένην μὲν
εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισ-
μένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ
ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σχῆ-
μα, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, τὰ
δὲ ὄμματα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθῆτα δέ, ἐξ ἧς
ἂν μάλιστα ὥρα διαλάμποι, κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ
θαμὰ ἐαυτήν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος
αὐτὴν θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῆς
23 σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν. Ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο πλησιαίτε-
ρον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τὴν μὲν πρόσθεν ῥηθεῖσαν

“And we have the testimony of Epicharmus too in the line :

‘The gods demand of us toil as the price of all good things.’

“And elsewhere he says :

‘Knave, yearn not for the soft things, lest thou earn the hard.’

“Aye, and Prodicus the wise expresses himself ²¹ to the like effect concerning Virtue in the essay ‘On Heracles’ that he recites to throngs of listeners. This, so far as I remember, is how he puts it :

“When Heracles was passing from boyhood to youth’s estate, wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or the path of vice, he went out into a quiet place, and sat pondering ²² which road to take. And there appeared two women of great stature making towards him. The one was fair to see and of high bearing ; and her limbs were adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty ; sober was her figure, and her robe was white. The other was plump and soft, with high feeding. Her face was made up to heighten its natural white and pink, her figure to exaggerate her height. Open-eyed was she ; and dressed so as to disclose all her charms. Now she eyed herself ; anon looked whether any noticed her ; and often stole a glance at her own shadow.

“When they drew nigh to Heracles, the first ²³

¹ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ . . . ἔχῃς is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.

- ἰέναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν φθάσαι
 βουλομένην προσδραμεῖν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ εἰπεῖν·
 Ορῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα, ποῖαν ὁδὸν
 ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη. εἰάν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιησά-
 μενος, ἐπὶ¹ τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην ὁδὸν ἄξω
 σε καὶ τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς ἄγευστος ἔσῃ,
 24 τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἄπειρος διαβιώσῃ. πρῶτον μὲν
 γὰρ οὐ πολέμων οὐδὲ πραγμάτων φροντιεῖς, ἀλλὰ
 σκοπούμενος διέσῃ,² τί ἂν κεχαρισμένον ἢ σιτίον
 ἢ ποτὸν εὖροις ἢ τί ἂν ἰδὼν ἢ τί ἀκούσας τερ-
 φθείης ἢ τίνων ἂν ὀσφραινόμενος ἢ ἀπτόμενος
 ἡσθείης, τίσι δὲ παιδικοῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ' ἂν
 εὐφρανθείης, καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακώτατα καθεύδοις
 καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπονώτατα τούτων πάντων τυγχά-
 25 νοις. εἰάν δέ ποτε γένηταί τις ὑποψία σπάνεως
 ἀφ' ὧν ἔσται ταῦτα, οὐ φόβος, μή σε ἀγάγω ἐπὶ
 τὸ πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ
 τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι
 ἐργάζωνται, τούτοις σὺ χρήσῃ, οὐδενὸς ἀπεχό-
 μενος ὅθεν ἂν δυνατόν ἢ τι κερδᾶναι. πανταχό-
 θεν γὰρ ὠφελεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς συννοῦσιν ἐξουσίαν
 ἐγὼ παρέχω.
 26 Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, ὦ γύναι, ἔφη,
 ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστίν; ἡ δέ, Οἷ μὲν ἐμοῖ φίλοι,
 ἔφη, καλοῦσί με Εὐδαιμονίαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με
 ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνομάζουσι Κακίαν.
 27 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἑτέρα γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα εἶπε·
 Καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκω πρὸς σέ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, εἰδυῖα τοὺς
 γεννήσαντάς σε καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σὴν ἐν τῇ
 παιδείᾳ καταμαθοῦσα· ἐξ ὧν ἐλπίζω, εἰ τὴν πρὸς
 ἐμὲ ὁδὸν τράποιο, σφόδρ' ἂν σε τῶν καλῶν καὶ
 σεμνῶν ἐργάτην ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ ἔτι
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pursued the even tenor of her way: but the other, all eager to outdo her, ran to meet him, crying: 'Heracles, I see that you are in doubt which path to take towards life. Make me your friend; follow me, and I will lead you along the pleasantest and easiest road. You shall taste all the sweets of life; and hardship you shall never know. First, of wars 24 and worries you shall not think, but shall ever be considering what choice food or drink you can find, what sight or sound will delight you, what touch or perfume; what tender love can give you most joy, what bed the softest slumbers; and how to come by all these pleasures with least trouble. And should 25 there arise misgiving that lack of means may stint your enjoyments, never fear that I may lead you into winning them by toil and anguish of body and soul. Nay; you shall have the fruits of others' toil, and refrain from nothing that can bring you gain. For to my companions I give authority to pluck advantage where they will.'

"Now when Heracles heard this, he asked, 'Lady, 26 pray what is your name?'

"'My friends call me Happiness,' she said, 'but among those that hate me I am nicknamed Vice.'

"Meantime the other had drawn near, and she 27 said: 'I, too, am come to you, Heracles: I know your parents and I have taken note of your character during the time of your education. Therefore I hope that, if you take the road that leads to me, you will turn out a right good doer of high and noble

¹ Sauppe reads ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδίστην with the MSS.; ἐπὶ was removed by Hirschig.

² δέσση is wrong, but cannot be corrected with certainty.

πολὺ ἐντιμοτέραν καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς διαπρεπεστέ-
 ραν φανῆναι. οὐκ ἔξαπατήσω δέ σε προοιμίους
 28 ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ἤπερ οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν τὰ ὄντα διηγῆ-
 σομαι μετ' ἀληθείας. τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν
 καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ
 διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως
 εἶναί σοι βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴτε
 ὑπὸ φίλων ἐθέλεις ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους εὐερ-
 γητέον, εἴτε ὑπό τινος πόλεως ἐπιθυμῆς τιμᾶ-
 σθαι, τὴν πόλιν ὠφελιτέον, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά-
 δος πάσης ἀξιοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμάζεσθαι, τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα πειρατέον εὖ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γῆν βούλει σοι
 καρποὺς ἀφθόνους φέοειν, τὴν γῆν θεραπευτέον,
 εἴτε ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων οἷε δεῖν πλουτίζεσθαι, τῶν
 βοσκημάτων ἐπιμελητέον, εἴτε διὰ πολέμου ὁρμᾶς
 αὔξεσθαι καὶ βούλει δύνασθαι τοὺς τε φίλους
 ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειροῦσθαι, τὰς
 πολεμικὰς τέχνας αὐτάς τε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιστα-
 μένων μαθητέον καὶ ὅπως αὐταῖς δεῖ χρῆσθαι
 ἀσκητέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βούλει δυνατὸς
 εἶναι, τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθιστέον τὸ σῶμα καὶ
 γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοις καὶ ἰδρῶτι.

29 Καὶ ἡ Κακία ὑπολαβοῦσι εἶπεν, ὥς φησι Πρό-
 δικος· Ἐννοεῖς, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὥς χαλεπήν καὶ
 μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας ἡ γυνὴ σοι αὕτη
 διηγείται ; ἐγὼ δὲ ῥαδίαν καὶ βραχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ
 30 τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄξω σε. καὶ ἡ Ἀρετὴ εἶπεν· ὦ
 τλήμων, τί δὲ σὺ ἀγαθὸν ἔχεις ; ἢ τί ἡδὺ οἶσθα
 μηδὲν τούτων ἔνεκα πράττειν ἐθέλουσα ; ἥ τις
 οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἡδέων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναμένεις, ἀλλὰ
 πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι πάντων ἐμπίπλασαι, πρὶν μὲν
 πεινῆν ἐσθίουσα, πρὶν δὲ διψῆν πίνουσα, καὶ ἵνα
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deeds, and I shall be yet more highly honoured and more illustrious for the blessings I bestow. But I will not deceive you by a pleasant prelude: I will rather tell you truly the things that are, as the gods have ordained them. For of all things good and fair, 28 the gods give nothing to man without toil and effort. If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship the gods: if you desire the love of friends, you must do good to your friends: if you covet honour from a city, you must aid that city: if you are fain to win the admiration of all Hellas for virtue, you must strive to do good to Hellas: if you want land to yield you fruits in abundance, you must cultivate that land: if you are resolved to get wealth from flocks, you must care for those flocks: if you essay to grow great through war and want power to liberate your friends and subdue your foes, you must learn the arts of war from those who know them and must practise their right use: and if you want your body to be strong, you must accustom your body to be the servant of your mind, and train it with toil and sweat.'

"And Vice, as Prodicus tells, answered and said: 29 'Heracles, mark you how hard and long is that road to joy, of which this woman tells? but I will lead you by a short and easy road to happiness.'

"And Virtue said: 'What good thing is thine, 30 poor wretch, or what pleasant thing dost thou know, if thou wilt do nought to win them? Thou dost not even tarry for the desire of pleasant things, but fillest thyself with all things before thou desirest them, eating before thou art hungry, drinking before

μὲν ἡδέως φάγῃς, ὀψοποιοὺς μηχανωμένη, ἵνα δὲ
 ἡδέως πίῃς, οἶνους τε πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζῃ
 καὶ τοῦ θέρους χιόνα περιθέουσα ζητεῖς, ἵνα δὲ
 καθυπνώσῃς ἡδέως, οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς μα-
 λακάς, ἀλλὰ¹ καὶ τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις
 παρασκευάζῃ· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ
 μηδὲν ἔχειν ὅ,τι ποιῇς ὕπνου ἐπιθυμεῖς. τὰ δ'
 ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις, πάντα
 μηχανωμένη καὶ γυναιξὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι χρωμένη·
 οὕτω γὰρ παιδεύεις τοὺς σεαυτῆς φίλους, τῆς μὲν
 νυκτὸς ὑβρίζουσα, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτα-
 31 τον κατακοιμίζουσα. ἀθάνατος δὲ οὖσα ἐκ θεῶν
 μὲν ἀπέρριψαι, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀτι-
 μάξῃ· τοῦ δὲ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαί-
 νου ἑαυτῆς, ἀνήκοος εἶ καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου
 θεάματος ἀθέατος· οὐδὲν γὰρ πώποτε σεαυτῆς
 ἔργον καλὸν τεθέασαι. τίς δ' ἂν σοι λεγούσῃ τι
 πιστεύσεις ; τίς δ' ἂν δεομένη τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειεν ;
 ἢ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου τολμήσειεν
 εἶναι ; οἱ νέοι μὲν ὄντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδύνατοί
 εἰσι, πρεσβύτεροι τὲ γενόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνό-
 ητοι, ἀπόνως μὲν λιπαροὶ διὰ νεότητος τρεφό-
 μενοι, ἐπιπόνως δὲ αὐχμηροὶ διὰ γήρως περῶντες,
 τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις αἰσχυνόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πρατ-
 τομένοις βαρυνόμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἡδέα ἐν τῇ νεότητι
 διαδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀποθέ-
 32 μενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ σύνειμι μὲν θεοῖς, σύνειμι δὲ
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε
 θεῖον οὔτ' ἀνθρώπινον χωρὶς ἐμοῦ γίγνεται. τι-
 μῶμαι δὲ μάλιστα πάντων καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ
 παρ' ἀνθρώποις οἷς προσήκει, ἀγαπητὴ μὲν συνερ-
 γὸς τεχνίταις, πιστὴ δὲ φύλαξ οἴκων δεσπόταις,
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thou art thirsty, getting thee cooks, to give zest to eating, buying thee costly wines and running to and fro in search of snow in summer, to give zest to drinking; to soothe thy slumbers it is not enough for thee to buy soft coverlets, but thou must have frames for thy beds. For not toil, but the tedium of having nothing to do, makes thee long for sleep. Thou dost rouse lust by many a trick, when there is no need, using men as women: thus thou trainest thy friends, waxing wanton by night, consuming in sleep the best hours of day. Immortal art thou, 31 yet the outcast of the gods, the scorn of good men. Praise, sweetest of all things to hear, thou hearest not: the sweetest of all sights thou beholdest not, for never yet hast thou beheld a good work wrought by thyself. Who will believe what thou dost say? who will grant what thou dost ask? Or what sane man will dare join thy throng? While thy votaries are young their bodies are weak, when they wax old, their souls are without sense; idle and sleek they thrive in youth, withered and weary they journey through old age, and their past deeds bring them shame, their present deeds distress. Pleasure they ran through in their youth: hardship they laid up for their old age. But I company with gods and 32 good men, and no fair deed of god or man is done without my aid. I am first in honour among the gods and among men that are akin to me: to craftsmen a beloved fellow-worker, to masters a faithful

¹ Sauppe read *καὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ* with the MSS.

33 εὐμενὴς δὲ παραστάτις οἰκέταις, ἀγαθὴ δὲ συλ-
 λήπτρια τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόνων, βεβαία δὲ τῶν ἐν
 πολέμῳ σύμμαχος ἔργων, ἀρίστη δὲ φιλίας κοι-
 νωνός. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς φίλοις ἡδεῖα μὲν
 καὶ ἀπράγμων σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀπόλαυσις· ἀνέ-
 χονται γάρ, ἕως ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν αὐτῶν. ὕπνος
 δ' αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν ἡδίων ἢ τοῖς ἀμόχθοις καὶ
 οὔτε ἀπολείποντες αὐτὸν ἄχθονται οὔτε διὰ τοῦ-
 τον μεθιᾶσι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι
 τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐπαίνοις χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ
 γεραίτεροι ταῖς τῶν νέων τιμαῖς ἀγάλλονται καὶ
 ἡδέως μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων μέμνηνται, εὖ
 δὲ τὰς παρούσας ἡδονται πράττοντες, δι' ἐμὲ
 φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς ὄντες, ἀγαπητοὶ δὲ φίλοις, τίμιοι
 δὲ πατρίσιν. ὅταν δ' ἔλθῃ τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος,
 οὐ μετὰ λήθης ἄτιμοι κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης
 τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ὑμνούμενοι θάλλουσι. τοιαυτά
 σοι, ὦ παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἡράκλεις, ἔξεστι δια-
 34 πονησαμένῳ τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν
 κεκτῆσθαι.

Οὕτω πως διώκει Πρόδικος τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρετῆς
 Ἡρακλέους παιδείου, ἐκόσμησε μέντοι τὰς
 γνώμας ἔτι μεγαλειότεροις ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν.
 σοὶ δ' οὖν ἄξιον, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε, τούτων ἐνθυμου-
 μένῳ πειρᾶσθαι τι καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα
 χρόνον τοῦ βίου φροντίζειν.

II. Αἰσθόμενος δέ ποτε Λαμπροκλέα, τὸν πρεσ-
 βύτατον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὴν μητέρα χαλεπαί-
 νοντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, οἶσθά τινας ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἀχαρίστους καλουμένους ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

guardian of the house, to servants a kindly protector : good helpmate in the toils of peace, staunch ally in the deeds of war, best partner in friendship. To 33 my friends meat and drink bring sweet and simple enjoyment : for they wait till they crave them. And a sweeter sleep falls on them than on idle folk : they are not vexed at awaking from it, nor for its sake do they neglect to do their duties. The young rejoice to win the praise of the old ; the elders are glad to be honoured by the young ; with joy they recall their deeds past, and their present well-doing is joy to them, for through me they are dear to the gods, lovely to friends, precious to their native land. And when comes the appointed end, they lie not forgotten and dishonoured, but live on, sung and remembered for all time. O Heracles, thou son of goodly parents, if thou wilt labour earnestly on this wise, thou mayest have for thine own the most blessed happiness.'

"Such, in outline, is Prodicus' story of the train- 34 ing of Heracles by Virtue ; only he has clothed the thoughts in even finer phrases than I have done now. But anyhow, Aristippus, it were well that you should think on these things and try to show some regard for the life that lies before you."

II. On noticing that his eldest son, Lamprocles, was out of humour with his mother, he said : "Tell me, my boy, do you know that some men are called ungrateful ? "

"Indeed I do," replied the young man.

Καταμεμάθηκας οὖν, τοὺς τί ποιοῦντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσιν ;

Ἐγώ γ', ἔφη· τοὺς γὰρ εὖ παθόντας, ὅταν δυνάμενοι χάριν ἀποδοῦναι μὴ ἀποδῶσιν, ἀχαρίστους καλοῦσιν.

Οὐκοῦν δοκοῦσί σοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδίκοις καταλογίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀχαρίστους ;

Ἐμοιγε, ἔφη.

- 2 Ἦδη δέ ποτ' ἐσκέψω, εἰ ἄρα ὥσπερ τὸ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἄδικον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ ἀχαριστεῖν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἄδικόν ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους δίκαιον ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι, ὅφ' οὐ ἂν τις εὖ παθὼν εἴτε φίλου εἴτε πολεμίου μὴ πειράται χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ἄδικος εἶναι.

- 3 Οὐκοῦν εἴ γ' οὕτως ἔχει τοῦτο, εἰλικρινῆς τις ἂν εἴη ἀδικία ἢ ἀχαριστία ; συνωμολόγει.

Οὐκοῦν ὅσῳ ἂν τις μείζω ἀγαθὰ παθὼν μὴ ἀποδιδῶ χάριν, τοσούτῳ ἀδικώτερος ἂν εἴη ; συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο.

Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, ὑπὸ τίνων εὖροιμεν ἂν μείζω εὐεργετημένους ἢ παῖδας ὑπὸ γονέων ; οὓς οἱ γονεῖς ἐκ μὲν οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησαν εἶναι, τοσαῦτα δὲ καλὰ ἰδεῖν καὶ τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν μετασχεῖν, ὅσα οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἃ δὴ καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν δοκεῖ παντὸς ἄξια εἶναι, ὥστε πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγομεν· καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασι ζημίαν θάνατον πεποιήκασιν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν μείζονος κακοῦ

- 4 φόβῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν παύσαντες. καὶ μὴν οὐ τῶν γε ἴφροδισίων ἔνεκα παιδοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώ-

"Do you realise how they come to have this bad name?"

"I do; the word is used of those who do not show the gratitude that it is in their power to show for benefits received."

"You take it, then, that the ungrateful are reckoned among the unjust?"

"Yes."

"Now, seeing that enslavement is considered a 2 just or an unjust act according as the victims are friends or enemies, have you ever considered whether the case of ingratitude is analogous, ingratitude being unjust towards friends, but just towards enemies?"

"Indeed I have; and I think that it is always unjust not to show gratitude for a favour from whomsoever it is received, be he friend or enemy."

"If that is so, must not ingratitude be injustice 3 pure and simple?"

He assented.

"Therefore the greater the benefits received the greater the injustice of not showing gratitude?"

He agreed again.

"Now what deeper obligation can we find than that of children to their parents? To their parents children owe their being and their portion of all fair sights and all blessings that the gods bestow on men—gifts so highly prized by us that all will sacrifice anything rather than lose them; and the reason why governments have made death the penalty for the greatest crimes is that the fear of it is the strongest deterrent against crime. Of course you 4 don't suppose that lust provokes men to beget

- πους ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἐπεὶ τούτου γε τῶν ἀπολυ-
 σόντων μεσταὶ μὲν αἱ ὁδοί, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκήματα.
 φανεροὶ δ' ἐσμὲν καὶ σκοπούμενοι, ἐξ ὁποίων ἂν
 γυναικῶν βέλτιστα ἡμῖν τέκνα γένοιτο, αἷς συνελ-
 5 θόντες τεκνοποιούμεθα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γε ἀνὴρ τὴν
 τε συντεκνοποιήσουσιν ἑαυτῷ τρέφει καὶ τοῖς
 μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι παισὶ προπαρασκευάζει πάντα,
 ὅσα ἂν οἴηται συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν βίον, καὶ
 ταῦτα ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστα· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὑποδε-
 ξαμένη τε φέρει τὸ φορτίον τοῦτο βαρυνομένη τε
 καὶ κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ μεταδιδούσα
 τῆς τροφῆς, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ τρέφεται, καὶ σὺν πολλῷ
 πόνῳ διενεγκούσα καὶ τεκοῦσα τρέφει τε καὶ ἐπι-
 μελεῖται, οὔτε προπεπονθυῖα οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν οὔτε
 γιγνῶσκον τὸ βρέφος, ὑφ' ὅτου εὖ πάσχει οὐδὲ
 σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, ὅτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ
 στοχαζομένη τά τε συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ κεχαρι-
 σμένα πειράται ἐκπληροῦν καὶ τρέφει πολὺν
 χρόνον καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπομένουσα πο-
 νεῖν, οὐκ εἰδυῖα, τίνα τούτων χάριν ἀπολήψεται.
 6 καὶ οὐκ ἄρκεῖ θρέψαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὰν
 δόξωσιν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι οἱ παῖδες μαρθάνειν τι, ἃ
 μὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔχωσιν οἱ γονεῖς ἀγαθὰ πρὸς
 τὸν βίον διδάσκουσιν, ἃ δ' ἂν οἴωνται ἄλλον
 ἱκανώτερον εἶναι διδάξαι, πέμπουσι πρὸς τοῦτον
 δαπανῶντες καὶ ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντα ποιούντες,
 ὅπως οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς γένωνται ὡς δυνατὸν
 βέλτιστοι.
- 7 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τοι εἰ καὶ
 πάντα ταῦτα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄλλα τούτων πολλα-
 πλάσια, οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναίτο αὐτῆς ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν
 χαλεπότητα.

children, when the streets and the stews are full of means to satisfy that? We obviously select for wives the women who will bear us the best children, and then marry them to raise a family. The man 5 supports the woman who is to share with him the duty of parentage and provides for the expected children whatever he thinks will contribute to their benefit in life, and accumulates as much of it as he can. The woman conceives and bears her burden in travail, risking her life, and giving of her own food; and, with much labour, having endured to the end and brought forth her child, she rears and cares for it, although she has not received any good thing, and the babe neither recognises its benefactress nor can make its wants known to her: still she guesses what is good for it and what it likes, and seeks to supply these things, and rears it for a long season, enduring toil day and night, nothing knowing what return she will get.

“Nor are the parents content just to supply food, 6 but so soon as their children seem capable of learning they teach them what they can for their good, and if they think that another is more competent to teach them anything, they send them to him at a cost, and strive their utmost that the children may turn out as well as possible.”

To this the young man replied: “Nay, but even 7 if she has done all this and far more than this, no one could put up with her vile temper.”

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πότερα δέ, ἔφη, οἷε θηρίου ἀγριότητα δυσφορωτέραν εἶναι ἢ μητρός ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη, μητρὸς τῆς γε τοιαύτης.

Ἦδη πώποτε οὖν ἢ δακοῦσα κακὸν τί σοι ἔδωκεν ἢ λακτίσασα, οἷα ὑπὸ θηρίων ἤδη πολλοὶ ἔπαθον ;

8 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, λέγει ἂ οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ βούλοιτο ἀκοῦσαι.

Σὺ δὲ πόσα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷε ταύτῃ [δυσάνεκτα] καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκ παιδίου δυσκολαίνων καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πράγματα παρασχεῖν, πόσα δὲ λυπῆσαι κάμνων ;

Ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτε αὐτήν, ἔφη, οὔτ' εἶπα οὔτ' ἐποίησα οὐδέν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡσχύνθη.

9 Τί δέ ; οἷε, ἔφη, χαλεπώτερον εἶναί σοι ἀκούειν ὧν αὕτη λέγει ἢ τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς, ὅταν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔσχατα λέγωσιν ;

Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἴονται τῶν λεγόντων οὔτε τὸν ἐλέγχοντα ἐλέγχειν, ἵνα ζημιώσῃ, οὔτε τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα ἀπειλεῖν, ἵνα κακὸν τι ποιήσῃ, ῥαδίως φέρουσι.

Σὺ δ' εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι ἂ λέγει σοι ἡ μήτηρ, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν κακὸν νοοῦσα λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλομένη σοι ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ὅσα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ, χαλεπαίνεις ; ἢ νομίζεις κακόνουν τὴν μητέρα σοι εἶναι ;

Οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε οὐκ οἶμαι.

10 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, σὺ ταύτην, εὖνουν τέ σοι οὔσαν καὶ ἐπιμελομένην ὥς μάλιστα δύναται κάμνοντος, ὅπως ὑγιανεῖς τε καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μηδενὸς ἐνδεῆς ἔσῃ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομένην ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ σοῦ

"Which, think you," asked Socrates, "is the harder to bear, a wild beast's brutality or a mother's?"

"I should say a mother's, when she is like mine."

"Well now, many people get bitten or kicked by wild beasts; has she ever done you an injury of that sort?"

"Oh no, but she says things one wouldn't listen 8 to for anything in the world."

"Well, how much trouble do you think you have given her by your peevish words and froward acts day and night since you were a little child; and how much pain when you were ill?"

"But I have never yet said or done anything to cause her shame."

"Now do you really think it harder for you to 9 listen to what she says than for actors when they abuse one another in a tragedy?"

"But an actor, I suppose, doesn't think that a question put to him will lead to punishment, or that a threat means any harm: and so he makes light of it."

"And why should you be annoyed? You know well that there is no malice in what your mother says to you; on the contrary, she wishes you to be blessed above all other beings—unless, indeed, you suppose that your mother is maliciously set against you?"

"Oh no, I don't think that."

Then Socrates exclaimed: "So this mother of 10 yours is kindly disposed towards you; she nurses you devotedly in sickness and sees that you want for nothing; more than that, she prays the gods to

καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδιδούσαν, χαλεπήν εἶναι φής ; ἐγὼ
 μὲν οἶμαι, εἰ τοιαύτην μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν μητέρα,
 11 τὰγαθὰ σε οὐ δύνασθαι φέρειν. εἰπέ δέ μοι, ἔφη,
 πότερον ἄλλον τινὰ οἶει δεῖν θεραπεύειν ; ἢ παρε-
 σκεύασαι μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων πειρᾶσθαι ἀρέσκειν
 μηδὲ πείθεσθαι μήτε στρατηγῷ μήτε ἄλλῳ
 ἄρχοντι ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἐγωγε, ἔφη.

12 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῷ γείτονι βούλει
 σὺ ἀρέσκειν, ἵνα σοι καὶ πῦρ ἐναύη, ὅταν τούτου
 δέῃ, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τέ σοι γίγνηται συλλήπτωρ καί,
 ἂν τι σφαλλόμενος τύχῃς, εὐνοϊκῶς ἐγγύθεν
 βοηθῇ σοι ;

Ἐγωγε, ἔφη.

Τί δέ ; συνοδοιπόρον ἢ σύμπλουν ἢ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ
 ἐντυγχάνοις, οὐδὲν ἂν σοι διαφέρει φίλον ἢ
 ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι ἢ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτων εὐνοίας
 οἶει δεῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ;

Ἐγωγε, ἔφη.

13 Εἰτα τούτων μὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαι,
 τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν πάντων μάλιστά σε φιλοῦσαν
 οὐκ οἶει δεῖν θεραπεύειν ; οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι καὶ ἡ
 πόλις ἄλλης μὲν ἀχαριστίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιμελεῖ-
 ται οὐδὲ δικάζει, ἀλλὰ περιορᾷ τοὺς εὖ πεπον-
 θότας χάριν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντας, ἐὰν δέ τις γονέας
 μὴ θεραπεύῃ, τούτῳ δίκην τε ἐπιτίθῃσι καὶ
 ἀποδοκιμάζουσα οὐκ ἐᾷ ἄρχειν τούτον, ὥς οὔτε
 ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ εὐσεβῶς θυόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 τούτου θύοντος αὐτε ἄλλο καλῶς καὶ δικαίως
 οὐδὲν ἂν τούτου πράξαντος ; καὶ νῆ Δία ἐάν τις
 τῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τοὺς τάφους μὴ κοσμήῃ,
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων

bless you abundantly and pays vows on your behalf; and yet you say she is a trial! It seems to me that, if you can't endure a mother like her, you can't endure a good thing. Now tell me, is there any 11 other being whom you feel bound to regard? Or are you set on trying to please nobody, and obeying neither general nor other ruler?"

"Of course not!"

"Do you want to please your neighbour, for 12 instance, so that he may kindle a fire for you at your need, may support you in prosperity, and in case of accident or failure may be ready to hold out a helping hand?"

"Yes, I do."

"When you find yourself with a travelling companion on land or at sea, or happen to meet anyone, is it a matter of indifference to you whether he prove a friend or an enemy? Or do you think his goodwill worth cultivating?"

"Yes, I do."

"And yet, when you are resolved to cultivate 13 these, you don't think courtesy is due to your mother, who loves you more than all? Don't you know that even the state ignores all other forms of ingratitude and pronounces no judgment on them,¹ caring nothing if the recipient of a favour neglects to thank his benefactor, but inflicts penalties on the man who is discourteous to his parents and rejects him as unworthy of office, holding that it would be a sin for him to offer sacrifices on behalf of the state and that he is unlikely to do anything else honourably and rightly? Aye, and if one fail to honour his parents' graves, the state inquires into that too, when

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. ii. 7.

14 δοκιμασίαις. σὺ οὖν, ὦ παῖ, ἐὰν σωφρονῇς, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς παραιτήσῃ συγγνώμονάς σοι εἶναι, εἴ τι παρημέληκας τῆς μητρός, μή σε καὶ οὗτοι νομίσαντες ἀχάριστον εἶναι οὐκ ἐθελήσωσιν εὖ ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους φυλάξῃ, μή σε αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γονέων ἀμελοῦντα πάντες ἀτιμάσωσιν, εἴτα ἐν ἐρημίᾳ φίλων ἀναφανῇς. εἰ γάρ σε ὑπολάβοιεν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ἀχάριστον εἶναι, οὐδεὶς ἂν νομίσειεν εὖ σε ποιήσας χάριν ἀπολήψεσθαι.

III. Χαιρεφῶντα δέ ποτε καὶ Χαιρεκράτην, ἀδελφῶ μὲν ὄντε ἀλλήλοιν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ γνωρίμῳ, αἰσθόμενος διαφερομένῳ, ἰδὼν τὸν Χαιρεκράτην, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, οὐ δήπου καὶ σὺ εἰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ χρησιμώτερον νομίζουσι χρήματα ἢ ἀδελφούς; καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἀφρόνων ὄντων, τοῦ δὲ φρονίμου, καὶ τῶν μὲν βοηθείας δεομένων, τοῦ δὲ βοηθεῖν δυναμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ὑπαρχόντων, τοῦ
 2 δὲ ἐνός. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἴ τις τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφούς ζημίαν ἡγεῖται, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κέκτηται, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οὐχ ἡγεῖται ζημίαν, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν δύνανται λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι κρεῖττον σὺν πολλοῖς οἰκοῦντα ἀσφαλῶς τάρκουντα ἔχειν ἢ μόνον διαιτῶμενον τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπικινδύνως πάντα κεκτῆσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ
 3 τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι. καὶ οἰκέτας μὲν οἱ δυνάμενοι ὠνοῦνται, ἵνα συνεργοὺς ἔχωσι, καὶ φίλους κτῶνται ὡς βοηθῶν δεόμενοι, τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν ἀμελοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γιγνομένους φίλους,

it examines the candidates for office. Therefore, my 14
 boy, if you are prudent, you will pray the gods to
 pardon your neglect of your mother, lest they in
 turn refuse to be kind to you, thinking you an
 ingrate; and you will beware of men, lest all cast
 you out, perceiving that you care nothing for your
 parents, and in the end you are found to be with-
 out a friend. For, should men suppose you to be
 ungrateful to your parents, none would think you
 would be grateful for any kindness he might show
 you."

III. On another occasion he found that two
 brothers, Chaerophon and Chaerecrates, whom he
 knew well, were quarrelling. On seeing the latter,
 he cried, "Surely, Chaerecrates, you are not one of
 those who hold that there is more value in goods
 and chattels than in a brother, when they are sense-
 less but he is sensible; they are helpless but he is
 helpful; when, moreover, you have many goods, but
 only one brother. It is strange too that a man 2
 should think he loses by his brothers because he
 cannot have their possessions as well as his own,
 and yet should not think that he loses by his fellow-
 citizens because their possessions are not his; and
 whereas in this case men can reflect that it is better
 to belong to a community, secure in the possession
 of a sufficiency, than to dwell in solitude with a
 precarious hold on all the property of their fellow-
 citizens, they fail to see that the same principle
 applies to brothers. Again, those who have the 3
 means buy servants to relieve them of work, and
 make friends because they feel the need of help;
 but they care nothing for their brothers, as though
 friendship can exist between fellow-citizens, but not

- 4 ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γιγνομένους. καὶ μὴν πρὸς φιλίαν μέγα μὲν ὑπάρχει τὸ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φῦναι, μέγα δὲ τὸ ὁμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόθος τις ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντροφῶν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τιμῶσί τε μᾶλλον τοὺς συναδέλφους ὄντας τῶν ἀναδέλφων καὶ ἦττον τούτοις ἐπιτίθενται.
- 5 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, μὴ μέγα εἴη τὸ διάφορον, ἴσως ἂν δέοι φέρειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ μὴ μικρῶν ἔνεκα φεύγειν· ἀγαθὸν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σύ λέγεις, ἀδελφὸς ὢν οἶον δεῖ· ὅποτε μέντοι παντὸς ἐνδέοι καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντιώτατον εἴη, τί ἂν τις ἐπιχειροίη τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ;
- 6 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Πότερα δέ, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, οὐδενὶ ἀρέσαι δύναται Χαιρεφῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σοί, ἢ ἔστιν οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀρέσκει ;
- Διὰ τοῦτο γάρ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐμοὶ μισεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἄλλοις μὲν ἀρέσκειν δύναται, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅπου ἂν παρῇ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ζημία μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειά ἐστιν.
- 7 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ ἵππος τῷ ἀνεπιστήμονι μὲν, ἐγχειροῦντι δὲ χρῆσθαι ζημία ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφός, ὅταν τις αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἐγχειρῇ χρῆσθαι, ζημία ἐστί ;
- 8 Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Χαιρεκράτης, ἀνεπιστήμων εἴην ἀδελφῷ χρῆσθαι, ἐπιστάμενός γε καὶ εὖ λέγειν τὸν εὖ λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα ; τὸν μὲντοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειρώμενον ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην οὔτ' εὖ λέγειν οὔτ' εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πειράσομαι.

between brothers! Yet common parentage and 4
common upbringing are strong ties of affection,¹ for
even brute beasts reared together feel a natural
yearning for one another. Besides, our fellow-men
respect those of us who have brothers more than
those who have none, and are less ready to quarrel
with them."

"If only the difference between us were a slight 5
one, Socrates," replied Chaerecrates, "it might per-
haps be my duty to put up with my brother and not
allow trifles to separate us. For a brother who
behaves like a brother is, as you say, a blessing;
but if his conduct is nothing like that, and is, in fact,
just the opposite of what it should be, what is the
use of attempting impossibilities?"

"Does everyone find Chaerophon as disagreeable 6
as you do, Chaerecrates, or do some people think
him very pleasant?"

"Ah, Socrates," replied he, "this is precisely my
reason for hating him: he is pleasant enough to other
people, but whenever he is near me, he invariably
says and does more to hurt than to help me."

"Well now," said Socrates, "if you try to manage 7
a horse without knowing the right way, he hurts
you. Is it so with a brother? Does he hurt if you
try to deal with him when you don't know the
way?"

"What," exclaimed Chaerecrates, "don't I know 8
how to deal with a brother, when I know how to
requite a kind word and a generous deed? But I
can't speak or act kindly to one who tries to annoy
me by his words and actions—and what's more, I
won't try."

¹ *Cyropaedia*, II. i. 28.

- 9 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Θαυμαστά γε λέγεις, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, εἰ κύνα μὲν, εἴ σοι ἦν ἐπὶ προβάτοις ἐπιτήδειος ὢν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ποιμένας ἡσπάζετο, σοὶ δὲ προσιόντι ἐχαλέπαινε, ἀμελήσας ἂν τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι ἐπειρῶ εὖ ποιήσας πρᾶννεν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν φῆς μὲν μέγα ἂν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὄντα πρὸς σέ οἶον δεῖ, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ὁμολογῶν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ λέγειν οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖς μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως σοι ὡς βέλτιστος ἦ.
- 10 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης, Δέδοικα, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἐγὼ τοσαύτην σοφίαν, ὥστε Χαιρεφῶντα ποιῆσαι πρὸς ἐμέ οἶον δεῖ.
- Καὶ μὴν οὐδέν γε ποικίλον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ καινὸν δεῖ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μηχανᾶσθαι, οἷς δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασαι αὐτὸς οἶομαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἀλόντα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι σε.
- 11 Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, ἔφη, λέγων, εἴ τι ἦσθησαί με φίλτρον ἐπιστάμενον, ὃ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς λέληθα ἐμαυτόν.
- Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, εἴ τινα τῶν γνωρίμων βούλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, ὅποτε θύοι, καλεῖν σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, τί ἂν ποιοίης ;
- Δῆλον ὅτι κατάρχοιμι ἂν τοῦ αὐτός, ὅτε θύοιμι, καλεῖν ἐκείνον.
- 12 Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο τῶν φίλων τινὰ προτρέψασθαι, ὅποτε ἀποδημοίης, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σῶν, τί ἂν ποιοίης ;
- Δῆλον ὅτι πρότερος ἂν ἐγχειροίην ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ὅποτε ἀποδημοίῃ.
- 13 Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο ξένον ποιῆσαι ὑποδέχεσθαι σεαυτόν, ὅποτε ἔλθοις εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου, τί ἂν ποιοίης ;

"Chaerecrates, you astonish me! Had you a 9
 sheep dog that was friendly to the shepherds, but
 growled when you came near him, it would never
 occur to you to get angry, but you would try to
 tame him by kindness. You say that, if your
 brother treated you like a brother, he would be a
 great blessing, and you confess that you know how
 to speak and act kindly: yet you don't set yourself
 to contriving that he shall be the greatest possible
 blessing to you."

"I fear, Socrates, that I lack the wisdom to make 10
 Chaerophon treat me as he should."

"And yet," said Socrates, "there is no need, so
 far as I see, of any subtle or strange contriving on
 your part: I think you know the way to win him
 and to get his good opinion."

"If you have observed that I know some spell 11
 without being conscious of my knowledge, pray tell
 me at once."

"Then tell me, now; if you wanted to get an
 invitation to dine with an acquaintance when he
 offers sacrifice, what would you do?"

"Of course I should begin by inviting him myself
 when I offered sacrifice."

"And suppose you wanted to encourage one of 12
 your friends to look after your affairs during your
 absence from home, what would you do?"

"Of course I should first undertake to look after
 his affairs in his absence."

"And suppose you wanted a stranger to entertain 13
 you when you visited his city, what would you do?"

Δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον πρότερος ὑποδεχοίμην ἄν, ὁπότε ἔλθοι Ἀθήναζε· καὶ εἴ γε βουλοίμην αὐτὸν προθυμεῖσθαι διαπράττειν μοι ἐφ' ἃ ἤκοιμι, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δέοι ἂν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ποιεῖν.

14 Πάντ' ἄρα σύγε τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φίλτρα ἐπιστάμενος πάλαι ἀπεκρύπτου· ἢ ὀκνεῖς, ἔφη, ἄρξαι, μὴ αἰσχρὸς φαίῃς, ἐὰν πρότερος τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὖ ποιῇς; καὶ μὴν πλείστου γε δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐπαίνου ἄξιος εἶναι, ὃς ἂν φθάνῃ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κακῶς ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους εὖεργετῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι Χαιρεφῶν ἡγεμονικώτερος εἶναι σοῦ πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην, ἐκείνον ἂν ἐπειρώμην πείθειν πρότερον ἐγχειρεῖν τῷ σέ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δέ μοι σὺ δοκεῖς ἡγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν ἐξεργάζεσθαι τοῦτο.

15 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· "Ατοπα λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ οὐδαμῶς πρὸς σοῦ, ὅς γε κελεύεις ἐμὲ νεώτερον ὄντα καθηγεῖσθαι· καίτοι τούτου γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰναντία νομίζεται, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἡγεῖσθαι παντὸς καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου.

16 Πῶς; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· οὐ γὰρ καὶ ὁδοῦ παραχωρῆσαι τὸν νεώτερον πρεσβυτέρῳ συντυγχάνοντι πανταχοῦ νομίζεται καὶ καθήμενον ὑπαναστῆναι καὶ κοίτῃ μαλακῇ τιμῆσαι καὶ λόγων ὑπεῖξαι; ὦγαθέ, μὴ ὀκνεῖ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐγχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα καταπραΰνειν· καὶ πάνυ ταχύ σοι ὑπακούσεται. οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὥς φιλότιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐλευθέριος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ πονηρὰ ἀνθρώπια οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἔλοις ἢ εἰ δοίῃς τι, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσφιλῶς χρώμενος μάλιστ' ἂν κατεργάσαιο.

"Obviously I should first entertain him when he came to Athens. Yes, and if I wanted him to show himself eager in forwarding the business on which I had come, it is obvious that I should first have to do the same by him."

"It seems that you have long concealed a know- 14
ledge of all spells that were ever discovered. Or is it that you hesitate to make a beginning, for fear of disgracing yourself by first showing kindness to your brother? Yet it is generally thought worthy of the highest praise to anticipate the malevolence of an enemy and the benevolence of a friend. So if I thought Chaerophon more capable than you of showing the way to this friendship, I would try to persuade him to take the first step towards an understanding with you. But as things are, I think the enterprise more likely to succeed under your direction."

"Strange sentiments, these, Socrates! It's quite 15
unlike you to urge me, the junior, to lead the way! And surely all hold the contrary opinion, that the senior, I mean, should always act and speak first?"

"How so?" said Socrates. "Is it not the general 16
opinion that a young man should make way for an older when they meet,¹ offer his seat to him, give him a comfortable bed, let him have the first word? My good friend, don't hesitate, but take up the task of pacifying your man, and in no time he will respond to your overtures. Don't you see how keen and frank he is? Low fellows, it is true, yield most readily to gifts, but kindness is the weapon most likely to prevail with a gentleman."

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. vii. 10.

17 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἐὰν οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιῶντος ἐκεῖνος μὴδὲν βελτίων γίγνηται ;

Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἢ κινδυνεύσεις ἐπιδεῖξαι σὺ μὲν χρηστός τε καὶ φιλάδελφος εἶναι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ φαῦλός τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιος εὐεργεσίας ; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἶμαι τούτων ἔσσεσθαι· νομίζω γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν αἰσθηταί σε προκαλούμενον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, πάνυ φιλονεικήσειν, ὅπως περιγένηται σου καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εὖ ποιῶν.

18 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη, διάκεισθον, ὥσπερ εἰ τὸ χεῖρε, ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἀλλήλαις ἐποίησεν, ἀφεμένῳ τούτου τράποιντο πρὸς τὸ διακωλύειν ἀλλήλῳ ἢ εἰ τὸ πόδε θεία μοῖρα πεποιημένῳ πρὸς τὸ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοιν

19 ἀμελήσαντε τούτου ἐμποδίζοιεν ἀλλήλῳ. οὐκ ἂν πολλὴ ἀμαθία εἴη καὶ κακοδαιμονία τοῖς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ πεποιημένοις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ χρηῖσθαι ; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφῷ γε, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ μείζονι ὠφελείᾳ ἀλλήλοιν ἢ χεῖρέ τε καὶ πόδε καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἀδελφὰ ἔφυσεν ἀνθρώποις. χεῖρες μὲν γάρ, εἰ δέοι αὐτὰς τὰ πλεον ὀργυιᾶς διέχοντα ἅμα ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο· πόδες δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀργυιὰν διέχοντα ἔλθοιεν ἅμα· ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ δοκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἔτι ἐγγυτέρῳ ὄντων τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν ἰδεῖν δύναιντο· ἀδελφῷ δὲ φίλῳ ὄντε καὶ πολὺν διεστῶτε πράττετον ἅμα καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀλλήλοιν.

IV. Ἦκουσα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένου, ἐξ ὧν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκει μάλιστ' ἂν τις ὠφελεῖσθαι πρὸς φίλων κτῆσιν τε καὶ χρεῖαν.

“And what,” asked Chaerecrates, “if all my 17 efforts lead to no improvement?”

“Well, in that case, I presume you will have shown that you are honest and brotherly, he that he is base and unworthy of kindness. But I am confident that no such result will follow; for I think that, as soon as he is aware of your challenge to this contest, he will be all eagerness to outdo your kind words and actions. What if a pair of hands refused the office 18 of mutual help for which God made them, and tried to thwart each other; or if a pair of feet neglected the duty of working together, for which they were fashioned, and took to hampering each other? That is how you two are behaving at present. Would it 19 not be utterly senseless and disastrous to use for hindrance instruments that were made for help? And, moreover, a pair of brothers, in my judgment, were made by God to render better service one to the other than a pair of hands and feet and eyes and all the instruments that he meant to be used as fellows. For the hands cannot deal simultaneously with things that are more than six feet or so apart: the feet cannot reach in a single stride things that are even six feet apart: and the eyes, though they seem to have a longer range, cannot at the same moment see things still nearer than that, if some are in front and some behind. But two brothers, when they are friends, act simultaneously for mutual benefit, however far parted one from the other.”

IV. Again, I once heard him give a discourse on friendship¹ that was likely, as I thought, to help greatly in the acquisition and use of friends.

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. vii. 13.

Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν ἔφη ἀκούειν, ὡς πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον εἶη φίλος σαφὴς καὶ ἀγαθός· ἐπιμελομένους δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον
 2 ὁρᾶν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ φίλων κτήσεως. καὶ γὰρ οἰκίας καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ σκεύη κτωμένους τε ἐπιμελῶς ὁρᾶν ἔφη καὶ τὰ ὄντα σώζειν πειρωμένους, φίλον δέ, ὃ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναί φασιν, ὁρᾶν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς οὔτε ὅπως κτήσονται φροντίζοντας οὔτε
 3 ὅπως οἱ ὄντες ἑαυτοῖς σώζονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ καμνόντων φίλων τε καὶ οἰκετῶν ὁρᾶν τινὰς ἔφη τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις καὶ ἰατροὺς εἰσάγοντας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιμελῶς παρασκευάζοντας, τῶν δὲ φίλων ὀλιγωροῦντας, ἀποθανόντων τε ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀχθομένους τε καὶ ζημίαν ἡγουμένους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν οἰομένους ἐλαττοῦσθαι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων οὐδὲν ἐῶντας ἀθεράπευτον οὐδ' ἀνεπίσκεπτον, τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων
 4 ἀμελοῦντας. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁρᾶν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων καὶ πάνυ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος εἰδόμενος, τῶν δὲ φίλων ὀλίγων ὄντων οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἀγνοοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τοῦτο καταλέγειν ἐγχειρήσαντας οὐς ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἔθεσαν, πάλιν τούτους ἀνατίθεσθαι· τοσοῦτον
 5 αὐτοὺς τῶν φίλων φροντίζειν. καίτοι πρὸς ποῖον κτῆμα τῶν ἄλλων παραβαλλόμενος φίλος ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἂν πολλῶ κρείττων φανείη; ποῖος γὰρ ἵππος ἢ ποῖον ζεύγος οὕτω χρήσιμον ὥσπερ ὁ χρηστὸς φίλος; ποῖον δὲ ἀνδράποδον οὕτως εὖνουν καὶ παραμόνιμον; ἢ ποῖον ἄλλο

For he said that he often heard it stated that of all possessions the most precious is a good and sincere friend. "And yet," he said, "there is no transaction most men are so careless about as the acquisition of friends. For I find that they are 2 careful about getting houses and lands and slaves and cattle and furniture, and anxious to keep what they have ; but though they tell one that a friend is the greatest blessing, I find that most men take no thought how to get new friends or how to keep their old ones. Indeed, if one of their friends and 3 one of their servants fall ill at the same time, I find that some call in the doctor to attend the servant and are careful to provide everything that may contribute to his recovery, whereas they take no heed of the friend. In the event of both dying, they are vexed at losing the servant, but don't feel that the death of the friend matters in the least. And though none of their other possessions is uncared for and unconsidered, they are deaf to their friends' need of attention. And besides all this, I find that 4 most men know the number of their other possessions, however great it may be, yet cannot tell the number of their friends, few as they are ; and, if they are asked and try to make a list, they will insert names and presently remove them. So much for the thought they give to their friends ! Yet 5 surely there is no other possession that can compare with a good friend. For what horse, what yoke of oxen is so good a servant as the good friend ? What slave so loyal and constant ? or what possession so

6 κτῆμα οὕτω πάγχρηστον ; ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς φίλος
 ἑαυτὸν τάττει πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἐλλείπον τῷ φίλῳ
 καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν κοινῶν
 πράξεων, καὶ ἂν τέ τινα εὖ ποιῆσαι δέη, συν-
 επισχύει, ἂν τέ τις φόβος ταραττή, συμβοηθεῖ
 τὰ μὲν συναναλίσκων, τὰ δὲ συμπράττων καὶ
 τὰ μὲν συμπείθων, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενος καὶ εὖ μὲν
 πράττοντας πλείστα εὐφραίνων, σφαλλομένους
 7 δὲ πλείστα ἐπανορθῶν. ἃ δὲ αἷ τε χεῖρες ἐκάστω
 ὑπηρετοῦσι καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ προορώσι καὶ τὰ
 ὦτα προακούουσι καὶ οἱ πόδες διανύτουσι, τού-
 των φίλος εὐεργετῶν οὐδενὸς λείπεται· πολλάκις
 δὲ ἃ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τις ἢ οὐκ ἐξεργάσατο ἢ οὐκ
 εἶδεν ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ἢ οὐ διήνυσεν, ταῦθ' ὁ φίλος
 πρὸ τοῦ φίλου ἐξήρκεσεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔνιοι δένδρα
 μὲν πειρῶνται θεραπεύειν τοῦ καρποῦ ἕνεκεν, τοῦ
 δὲ παμφορωτάτου κτήματος, ὃ καλεῖται φίλος,
 ἀργῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως οἱ πλείστοι ἐπιμέλονται.

V. Ἦκουσα δέ ποτε καὶ ἄλλον αὐτοῦ λόγον,
 ὃς ἐδόκει μοι προτρέπειν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἐξετάζειν
 ἑαυτόν, ὅποσον τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος εἴη. ἰδὼν γάρ
 τινα τῶν συνόντων ἀμελοῦτα φίλου πενία πιε-
 ζομένου ἤρετο Ἀντισθένη ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀμε-
 2 λούντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, Ἄρ', ἔφη,
 ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, εἰσὶ τινες ἀξίαι φίλων, ὥσπερ
 οἰκετῶν ; τῶν γὰρ οἰκετῶν ὁ μὲν πον δυοῖν μναῖν
 ἄξιός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ἡμιμναίου, ὁ δὲ πέντε μνῶν,
 ὁ δὲ καὶ δέκα· Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικηράτου λέγεται
 ἐπιστάτην εἰς τὰργύρεια πρίασθαι ταλάντου.
 σκοποῦμαι δὴ τοῦτο, ἔφη, εἰ ἄρα ὥσπερ τῶν
 οἰκετῶν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰσὶν ἀξίαι.

3 Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης· ἐγὼ γοῦν

serviceable? The good friend is on the watch to 6
 supply whatever his friend wants for building up his
 private fortune and forwarding his public career.
 If generosity is called for, he does his part: if fear
 harasses, he comes to the rescue, shares expenses,
 helps to persuade, bears down opposition: he is
 foremost in delighting him when he is prosperous
 and raising him up when he falls. Of all that a man 7
 can do with his hands, see for himself with his eyes,
 hear for himself with his ears or accomplish with his
 feet, in nothing is a friend backward in helping.
 Nevertheless, while some strive to cultivate a tree
 for its fruit, most bestow but an idle and listless care
 on their most fruitful possession, the name of which
 is 'friend.' "

V. Again, I once heard him exhort a listener—for
 so I interpreted his words—to examine himself and
 to ask how much he was worth to his friends. For
 he had noticed that one of his companions was neg-
 lecting a poverty-stricken friend; so he put a question
 to Antisthenes in the presence of several others,
 including the careless friend. "Antisthenes," he 2
 said, "have friends like servants their own values?
 For one servant, I suppose, may be worth two minas,¹
 another less than half a mina, another five minas,
 another no less than ten. Nicias, son of Niceratus,
 is said to have given a whole talent² for a manager
 of his silver-mine. So I am led to inquire whether
 friends too may not differ in value."

"Oh yes," replied Antisthenes, "there are men 3

¹ Some £8.

² Some £240.

βουλοίμην ἂν τὸν μὲν τινα φίλον μοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δύο μνᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἡμιμναίου προτιμῆσαιμην, τὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ δέκα μνῶν ἐλοίμην ἂν, τὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων χρημάτων καὶ πόνων πριαίμην ἂν φίλον μοι εἶναι.

- 4 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἴ γε ταῦτα τοιαῦτά ἐστι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐξετάζειν τινὰ ἑαυτόν, πόσου ἄρα τυγχάνει τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος ὢν, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ὡς πλείστου ἄξιος εἶναι, ἵνα ἡττον αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι προδιδῶσιν. ἐγὼ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, πολλάκις ἀκούω τοῦ μὲν, ὅτι προὔδωκεν αὐτὸν φίλος ἀνὴρ, τοῦ δ', ὅτι μνᾶν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον εἴλετο
5 ἀνὴρ, ὃν ᾤετο φίλον εἶναι. τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα σκοπῶ, μὴ ὥσπερ ὅταν τις οἰκέτην πονηρὸν πωλῇ καὶ ἀποδίδοται¹ τοῦ εὐρόντος, οὕτω καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν φίλον, ὅταν ἐξῇ τὸ πλεόν τῆς ἀξίας λαβεῖν, ἐπαγωγὸν ἢ ἀποδίδοσθαι. τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς οὔτε οἰκέτας πάνυ τι πωλουμένους ὀρῶ οὔτε φίλους προδιδομένους.

VI. Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν φίλους ὁποίους ἄξιον κτᾶσθαι φρενοῦν τοιάδε λέγων·

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰ δεοίμεθα φίλου ἀγαθοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἐπιχειροίημεν σκοπεῖν; ἄρα πρῶτον μὲν ζητητέον, ὅστις ἄρχει γαστρός τε καὶ φιλοποσίας καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀργίας; ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατούμενος οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δύναιτ' ἂν οὔτε φίλῳ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.

Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρχομένου ἀφεκτέον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

whose friendship I, at any rate, would rather have than two minas: others I should value at less than half a mina: others I would prefer to ten minas: others I would sacrifice any sum and take any trouble to have among my friends."

"Then if that is so," said Socrates, "were it not 4 well that one should ask himself how much he is really worth to his friends, and try to make himself as precious as possible, in order that his friends may not be tempted to betray him? For my part, I often hear complaints of this sort: 'A friend betrayed me,' 'one whom I regarded as my friend gave me up for the sake of a mina.' I think over such 5 matters and reflect that, when a man sells a bad slave he takes anything he can get for him; and perhaps it is tempting to sell a bad friend when there is a chance of getting more than he is worth. Good servants, I find, are not offered for sale, nor are good friends betrayed."

VI. In the following conversation I thought he gave instruction for testing the qualities that make a man's friendship worth winning.

"Tell me, Critobulus," he said, "if we wanted a good friend, how should we start on the quest? Should we seek first for one who is no slave to eating and drinking, lust, sleep, idleness? For the thrall of these masters cannot do his duty by himself or his friend."

"No, of course not."

"Then you think we should avoid one who is subject to them?"

"I do, certainly."

¹ ἀποδίδοται with *M*: ἀποδιδῶται Sauppe.

- 2 Τί γάρ ; ἔφη, ὅστις δαπανῆρὸς ὦν μὴ αὐτάρχης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν πλησίον δεῖται καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ τὸν μὴ δίδοντα μισεῖ, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οὗτος χαλεπὸς φίλος εἶναι ;

Πάνυ γ', ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου ;

Ἀφεκτέον μέντοι, ἔφη.

- 3 Τί γάρ ; ὅστις χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν δύναται, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσσύμβολός ἐστι καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν ἡδεται, ἀποδιδόναι δὲ μὴ βούλεται ;

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, οὗτος ἔτι πονηρότερος ἐκείνου εἶναι.

- 4 Τί δ' ; ὅστις διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι μὴδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἄλλο σχολὴν ποιεῖται ἢ ὁπόθεν αὐτὸς κέρδανει ;

Ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ· ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τῷ χρωμένῳ.

Τί δέ ; ὅστις στασιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ θέλων πολλοὺς τοῖς φίλοις ἐχθροὺς παρέχειν ;

Φευκτέον νὴ Δία καὶ τοῦτον.

Εἰ δέ τις τούτων μὲν τῶν κακῶν μὴδὲν ἔχει, εὖ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται, μὴδὲν φροντίζων τοῦ ἀντευεργετεῖν ;

Ἀνωφελὴς ἂν εἴη καὶ οὗτος. ἀλλὰ ποῖον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπιχειρήσομεν φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ;

- 5 Οἶμαι μὲν, ὅστις τὰναντία τούτων ἐγκρατὴς μὲν ἐστι τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὖοικος¹ δὲ καὶ εὐσύμβολος ὦν τυγχάνει καὶ φιλόνικος πρὸς

¹ εὖοικος B (first hand) : εὖνους Sauppe with A : εὖορκος C.

"Now what about the spendthrift who is never 2
satisfied, who is always appealing to his neighbours
for help, if he receives something, makes no return,
if he receives nothing, resents it? Don't you think
he too is a troublesome friend?"

"Certainly."

"Then we must avoid him too?"

"We must indeed."

"Again, what about the skilful man of business 3
who is eager to make money, and consequently
drives a hard bargain, who likes to receive but is
disinclined to repay?"

"So far as I see, he is even worse than the
last."

"And what of the man who is such a keen man 4
of business that he has no leisure for anything but
the selfish pursuit of gain?"

"We must avoid him too, I think. There is no
profit in knowing him."

"And what of the quarrelsome person who is will-
ing to provide his friends with plenty of enemies?"

"We must shun him too, of course."

"Suppose that a man is free from all these faults,
but stoops to receive kindness with no thought of
returning it?"

"There is no profit in him either. But what are
the qualities for which we shall try to win a man's
friendship, Socrates?"

"The opposite of these, I suppose. We shall look 5
for one who controls his indulgence in the pleasures
of the body, who is truly hospitable¹ and fair in his

¹ Or *εὖνους*, "loyal," or *εὖορκος*, "scrupulous," "a man of
his word."

τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν, ὥστε λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς χρωμένοις.

- 6 Πῶς οὖν ἂν ταῦτα δοκιμάσαιμεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὸ τοῦ χρῆσθαι ;

Τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιούς, ἔφη, δοκιμάζομεν οὐ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ὁρῶμεν τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀνδριάντας καλῶς εἰργασμένοι, τούτῳ πιστεύομεν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὖ ποιήσιν.

- 7 Καὶ ἄνδρα δὴ λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃς ἂν τοὺς φίλους τοὺς πρόσθεν εὖ ποιῶν φαίνεται, δῆλον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον εὐεργετήσοντα ;

Καὶ γὰρ ἵπποις, ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ὁρῶ τοῖς πρόσθεν καλῶς χρώμενον, τοῦτον καὶ ἄλλοις οἶμαι καλῶς χρῆσθαι.

- 8 Εἶεν, ἔφη· ὃς δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἄξιος φιλίας δοκῇ εἶναι, πῶς χρὴ φίλον τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι ;

Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπισκεπτέον, εἰ συμβουλεύουσιν αὐτὸν φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.

Τί οὖν ; ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ἡμῖν τε δοκῇ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ μὴ ἐναντιῶνται, ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὗτος θηρατέος ;

- 9 Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ κατὰ πόδας ὥσπερ ὁ λαγῶς οὐδ' ἀπάτῃ ὥσπερ αἱ ὄρνιθες οὐδὲ βία ὥσπερ οἱ ἐχθροί.¹ ἄκουτα γὰρ φίλον ἐλεῖν ἐργῶδες· χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ δήσαντα κατέχειν ὥσπερ δούλον· ἐχθροὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλοι γίγνονται οἱ τοιαῦτα πιάσχοντες.

- 10 Φίλοι δὲ πῶς ; ἔφη.

Εἶναι μὲν τινάς φασιν ἐπιδάς, ἃς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπάδοντες οἷς ἂν βούλωνται φίλους αὐτοὺς

¹ ἐχθροὶ MSS. : κάπροι Ernesti, Sauppe.

dealings and eager to do as much for his benefactors as he receives from them, so that he is worth knowing."

"Then how can we test these qualities, Socrates, 6 before intimacy begins?"

"What test do we apply to a sculptor? We don't judge by what he says, but we look at his statues, and if we see that the works he has already produced are beautiful, we feel confident that his future works will be as good."

"You mean that anyone whose good works wrought 7 upon his old friends are manifest will clearly prove a benefactor to new friends also?"

"Yes; for when I find that an owner of horses has been in the habit of treating his beasts well I think that he will treat others equally well."

"Granted! but when we have found a man who 8 seems worthy of our friendship, how are we to set about making him our friend?"

"First we should seek guidance from the gods, whether they counsel us to make a friend of him."

"And next? Supposing that we have chosen and the gods approve him, can you say how is he to be hunted?"

"Surely not like a hare by swift pursuit, nor like 9 birds by cunning, nor like enemies¹ by force. It is no light task to capture a friend against his will, and hard to keep him a prisoner like a slave. Hatred, rather than friendship, comes of that treatment."

"But how does friendship come?" 10

"There are spells, they say, wherewith those who know charm whom they will and make friends of

¹ Or *κάπροι*, "boars."

ποιοῦνται, εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

- 11 Πόθεν οὖν, ἔφη, ταῦτα μάθοιμεν ἄν ;
 Ἄ μὲν αἱ Σειρῆνες ἐπῆδον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἤκουσας Ὀμήρου, ὧν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τοιάδε τις·

Δεῦρ' ἄγε δῆ, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος
 Ἀχαιῶν.

Ταύτην οὖν, ἔφη, τὴν ἐπωδὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἱ Σειρῆνες ἐπάδουσαι κατεῖχον, ὥστε μὴ ἀπιέναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπασθέντας ;

- 12 Οὐκ ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμουμένοις οὕτως ἐπῆδον.

Σχεδόν τι λέγεις τοιαῦτα χρῆναι ἐκάστῳ ἐπάδειν, οἷα μὴ νομιεῖ ἀκούων τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα καταγελῶντα λέγειν.

Οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἐχθίων τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀπελαύνοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ τὸν εἰδότα, ὅτι μικρὸς τε καὶ αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἐστίν, ἐπαινοίη λέγων, ὅτι καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν.

Ἄλλας δέ τινας οἶσθα ἐπωδάς ;

- 13 Οὐκ ἀλλ' ἤκουσα μὲν, ὅτι Περικλῆς πολλὰς ἐπίσταιτο, ἅς ἐπάδων τῇ πόλει ἐποίει αὐτὴν φιλεῖν αὐτόν.

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ πῶς ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν φιλεῖν αὐτόν ;

Μὰ Δῖ' οὐκ ἐπάδων, ἀλλὰ περιάψας τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ.

- 14 Δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς εἰ μέλλομεν

them, and drugs which those who know give to whom they choose and win their love."

"How then can we learn them?" 11

"You have heard from Homer the spell that the Sirens put on Odysseus. It begins like this:

'Hither, come hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans.' ¹

"Then did the Sirens chant in this strain for other folk too, Socrates, so as to keep those who were under the spell from leaving them?"

"No, only for those that yearned for the fame 12 that virtue gives."

"You mean, I take it, that the spell must be fitted to the listener, so that he may not take the praise for mockery."

"Yes; for to praise one for his beauty, his stature and his strength who is conscious that he is short, ugly and puny, is the way to repel him and make him dislike you more."

"Do you know any other spells?"

"No, but I have heard that Pericles knew many 13 and put them on the city, and so made her love him."

"And how did Themistocles make the city love him?"

"Not by spells: no, no; but by hanging some good amulet about her." ²

"I think you mean, Socrates, that if we are to 14

¹ *Odyssey*, xii. 184.

² *i.e.* not by his words, but by protecting Athens with ships and fortifications.

ἀγαθὸν τινα κτήσεσθαι φίλον, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀγα-
θοὺς δεῖ γενέσθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.¹

Σὺ δ' ὦρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷόν τ' εἶναι καὶ
πονηρὸν ὄντα χρηστοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι ;

15 Ἐώρων γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ῥήτοράς τε
φαύλους ἀγαθοῖς δημηγόροις φίλους ὄντας καὶ
στρατηγεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοὺς πάνυ στρατηγικοῖς ἀν-
δράσιν ἐταίρους.

16 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, καί, περὶ οὗ διαλεγόμεθα, οἴσθ' αὖ
τινας, οἱ ἀνωφελεῖς ὄντες ὠφελίμους δύνανται
φίλους ποιεῖσθαι ;

Μὰ Δι' οὐ δῆτ', ἔφη· ἀλλ' εἰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι
πονηρὸν ὄντα καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι,
ἐκεῖνο ἤδη μέλει μοι, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτὸν καλὸν κα-
γαθὸν γενόμενον ἐξ ἐτοίμου τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
φίλον εἶναι.

17 Ὁ τὰράττει σε, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅτι πολλάκις
ἄνδρας καὶ τὰ καλὰ πράττοντας καὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν
ἀπεχομένους ὁρᾷς ἀντὶ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι στασιάζ-
ζοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ χαλεπώτερον χρωμένους τῶν
μηδεὺς ἀξίων ἀνθρώπων.

18 Καὶ οὐ μόνον γ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἰδιῶται
τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις αἱ τῶν τε καλῶν
μάλιστα ἐπιμελόμεναι καὶ τὰ αἰσχυρὰ ἥκιστα
προσιέμεναι πολλάκις πολεμικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς

19 ἀλλήλας. ἂ λογίζόμενος πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχω πρὸς
τὴν τῶν φίλων κτήσιν· οὐτε γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς
ἀλλήλοις δυναμένους εἶναι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ ἀχά-
ριστοι ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ πλεονέκται ἢ ἄπιστοι ἢ ἀκρα-
τεῖς ἄνθρωποι δύναιντο φίλοι γενέσθαι ; οἱ μὲν
οὖν πονηροὶ πάντως ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις
20 ἐχθροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλοι πεφυκέναι. ἀλλὰ μήν,

win a good man's friendship, we ourselves must be good in word and deed alike?"

"But you imagined that a bad man could win the friendship of honest men?"

"I did," answered Critobulus, "for I saw that 15 poor orators have good speakers among their friends, and some who are incapable of commanding an army are intimate with great generals."

"Coming then to the point under discussion, do 16 you know cases of useless persons making useful friends?"

"Assuredly not; but if it is impossible that the bad should gain the friendship of gentlemen, then I am anxious to know whether it is quite easy for a gentleman as a matter of course to be the friend of gentlemen?"

"Your trouble is, Critobulus, that you often find 17 men who do good and shun evil not on friendly terms, but apt to quarrel and treat one another more harshly than worthless fellows."

"Yes," said Critobulus, "and such conduct is not 18 confined to individuals, but even the cities that care most for the right and have least liking for the wrong are often at enmity. These thoughts make 19 me despair about the acquisition of friends. For I see on the one hand that rogues cannot be friends with one another—for how could the ungrateful, the careless, the selfish, the faithless, the incontinent, form friendships? I feel sure, then, that rogues are by their nature enemies rather than friends. But 20

¹ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.

ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, οὐδ' ἂν τοῖς χρηστοῖς οἱ πονηροὶ ποτε συναρμόσειαν εἰς φιλίαν. πῶς γὰρ οἱ τὰ πονηρὰ ποιοῦντες τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα μισοῦσι φίλοι γένοιντ' ἂν ; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντες στασιάζουσι τε περὶ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ φθονοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἔτι φίλοι ἔσονται καὶ ἐν τίσιν ἀνθρώποις εὖνοια καὶ πίστις ἔσται ;

- 21 Ἄλλ' ἔχει μέν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ποικίλως πως ταῦτα, ὦ Κριτόβουλε. φύσει γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ μὲν φιλικὰ· δέονταιί τε γὰρ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐλεοῦσι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ὠφελούσι καὶ τοῦτο συνιέντες χάριν ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλοις· τὰ δὲ πολεμικά· τὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ ἡδέα νομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τούτων μάχονται καὶ διχογνωμονοῦντες ἐναντιοῦνται. πολεμικὸν δὲ καὶ ἔρις καὶ ὀργή· καὶ δυσμενὲς μὲν ὁ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν
- 22 ἔρως, μισητὸν δὲ ὁ φθόνος. ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τούτων πάντων ἡ φιλία διαδυομένη συνάπτει τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αἰροῦνται μὲν ἄνευ πόνου τὰ μέτρια κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολέμου πάντων κυριεύειν καὶ δύνανται πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες ἀλύπως σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ κοινωνεῖν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὠραίων ἀφροδισίοις ἡδόμενοι καρτερεῖν, ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν οὐς
- 23 μὴ προσήκει· δύνανται δὲ καὶ χρημάτων οὐ μόνον τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενοι νομίμως κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις· δύνανται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔριν οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφερόντως ἀλλήλοις διατίθεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν κωλύειν εἰς τὸ μεταμελησόμενον προϊέναι. τὸν δὲ φθόνον παντάπασιν ἀφαιροῦσι τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν

then, as you point out, neither can rogues ever join in friendship with honest men, for how can wrong-doers become friendly with those who hate their conduct? And if we must add that the votaries of virtue strive with one another for headship in cities, and envy and hate one another, who then will be friends and where shall loyalty and faithfulness be found?"

"Ah, Critobulus, but there is a strange complica- 21
tion in these matters. Some elements in man's nature make for friendship: men need one another, feel pity, work together for their common good, and, conscious of the facts, are grateful to one another. But there are hostile elements in men. For, holding the same things to be honourable and pleasant, they fight for them, fall out and take sides. Strife and anger lead to hostility, covetousness to enmity, jealousy to hatred. Nevertheless through all these 22
barriers friendship slips, and unites the gentle natures. For thanks to their virtue these prize the untroubled security of moderate possessions above sovereignty won by war; despite hunger and thirst, they can share their food and drink without a pang; and although they delight in the charms of beauty they can resist the lure and avoid offending those whom they should respect; they can not only share 23
wealth lawfully and keep from covetousness, but also supply one another's wants; they can compose strife not only without pain, but with advantage to one another, and prevent anger from pursuing its way towards remorse: but jealousy they take away utterly, regarding their own good things as belong-

- ἀγαθὰ τοῖς φίλοις οἰκεῖα παρέχοντες, τὰ δὲ τῶν
 24 φίλων ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς
 τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν
 μὴ μόνον ἀβλαβεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελίμους ἀλ-
 λήλοις κοινωνοὺς εἶναι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦντες
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τιηᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν, ἵνα
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχωσι χρήματά τε κλέπτειν καὶ ἀν-
 θρώπους βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ἄδικοί τε καὶ
 πονηροὶ ἂν εἶεν καὶ ἀδύνατοι ἄλλῳ συναρμόσαι.
 25 εἰ δέ τις ἐν πόλει τιμᾶσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως
 αὐτός τε μὴ ἀδικῇται καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τὰ δίκαια
 βοηθεῖν δύνηται, καὶ ἄρξας ἀγαθόν τι ποιεῖν τὴν
 πατρίδα πειρᾶται, διὰ τί ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄλλῳ τοιούτῳ
 οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο συναρμόσαι; πότερον τοὺς φίλους
 ὠφελεῖν μετὰ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἢ ττον δυ-
 νήσεται ἢ τὴν πέλιν εὐεργετεῖν ἀδυνατώτερος
 26 ἔσται καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἔχων συνεργούς; ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι εἰ
 ἐξῆν τοῖς κρατίστοις συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς χεῖρους
 ἵεναι, πάντας ἂν τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὗτοι ἐνίκων καὶ
 πάντα τὰ ἄθλα οὗτοι ἐλάμβανον. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖ
 μὲν οὐκ ἐῷσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς,
 ἐν οἷς οἱ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ κρατιστεύουσιν, οὐδεὶς
 κωλύει μεθ' οὗ ἂν τις βούληται τὴν πόλιν
 εὐεργετεῖν, πῶς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ τοὺς βελτίστους
 φίλους κτησάμενον πολιτεύεσθαι, τούτοις κοι-
 νωνοῖς καὶ συνεργοῖς τῶν πράξεων μᾶλλον ἢ
 27 ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρώμενον; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κεῖνο
 δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν πολεμῇ τίς τινι, συμμάχων δε-
 ῆσεται καὶ τούτων πλειόνων, ἐὰν καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
 ἀντιτάττηται. καὶ μὴν οἱ συμμαχεῖν ἐθέλοντες
 εὖ ποιητέοι, ἵνα θέλωσι προθυμεῖσθαι. πολὺ δὲ
 138

ing to their friends, and thinking their friend's good things to be their own. Surely, then, it is likely 24 that true gentlemen will share public honours too not only without harm to one another, but to their common benefit? For those who desire to win honour and to bear rule in their cities that they may have power to embezzle, to treat others with violence, to live in luxury, are bound to be unjust, unscrupulous, incapable of unity. But if a man 25 seeks to be honoured in a state that he may not be the victim of injustice himself and may help his friends in a just cause, and when he takes office may try to do some good to his country, why should he be incapable of union with one like himself? Will his connexion with other gentlemen render him less capable of serving his friends? Will he be less able to benefit his city with the help of other gentlemen? Even in the public games it is clear that, if the 26 strongest competitors were allowed to join forces against the weaker, they would win all the events, they would carry off all the prizes. True, that is not permitted in the games; but in politics, where the gentlemen are the strongest, nobody prevents anyone from forming any combination he may choose for the benefit of the state; surely, then, in public life it is a gain to make friends with the best, and to see in them partners and fellow-workers in a common cause, and not rivals. But, again, it is equally clear 27 that anyone who goes to war will need allies, and more of them if he is to fight an army of gentlemen. Moreover, those who are willing to fight at your side must be well treated that they may be willing to exert themselves; and it is a far sounder plan to

- κρεῖττον τοὺς βελτίστους ἐλάττονας εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοὺς χείρονας πλείονας ὄντας· οἱ γὰρ πονηροὶ πολὺ πλείονων εὐεργεσιῶν ἢ οἱ χρηστοὶ δέονται.
- 28 ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, πειρῶ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος θηρᾶν ἐπιχείρει τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. ἴσως δ' ἂν τί σοι καὶ γὰρ συλλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν θήραν ἔχοιμι διὰ τὸ ἐρωτικὸς εἶναι. δεινῶς γὰρ ὦν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσω ἀνθρώπων ὅλος ὥρμημαι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλῶν τε αὐτοὺς ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ποθῶν ἀντιποθεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν συνεῖναι καὶ
- 29 ἀντεπιθυμεῖσθαι τῆς συνουσίας. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ σοὶ τούτων δεῆσον, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσης φιλίαν πρὸς τινὰς ποιεῖσθαι. μὴ οὖν ἀποκρύπτου με οἷς ἂν βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀρέσαι τῷ ἀρέσκοντί μοι οὐκ ἀπείρως οἶμαι ἔχειν πρὸς θήραν ἀνθρώπων.
- 30 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Καὶ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τούτων ἐγὼ τῶν μαθημάτων πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ἐξαρκέσει μοι ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοὺς τὰ σώματα.
- 31 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἄλλ', ὦ Κριτόβουλε, οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὸ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέροντα ποιεῖν ὑπομένειν τοὺς καλοὺς. πέπεισμαι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκύλλης διὰ τοῦτο φεύγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς προσέφερε· τὰς δέ γε Σειρήνας, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας οὐδενὶ προσέφερον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πόρρωθεν ἐπῆδον, πάντας φασὶν ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν κηλεῖσθαι.
- 32 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Ὡς οὐ προσοίσοντος

show kindness to the best, who are fewer in number, than to the worst, who are the greater company; for the bad want many more kindnesses than the good. Courage, Critobulus; try to be good, and 28 when you have achieved that, set about catching your gentleman. Maybe, I myself, as an adept in love, can lend you a hand in the pursuit of gentlemen. For when I want to catch anyone it's surprising how I strain every nerve to have my love returned, my longing reciprocated by him, in my eagerness that he shall want me as much as I want him. I see that you too will feel this need when 29 you want to form a friendship. So do not hide from me the names of those whom you wish to make your friends; for I am careful to please him who pleases me, and so, I think, I am not without experience in the pursuit of men."

"Well, Socrates," said Critobulus in reply, "these 30 are the lessons I have long wished to learn, especially if the same skill will serve to win a good soul and a fair face."

"Ah no, Critobulus," said Socrates, "it belongs 31 not to my skill to lay hands on the fair and force them to submit. I am convinced that the reason why men fled from Scylla was that she laid hands on them; but the Sirens laid hands on no man; from far away they sang to all, and therefore, we are told, all submitted, and hearing were enchanted." ¹

"I am not going to put a hand on anyone," said 32

¹ *Odyssey* xii. 39 f., adapted.

τὰς χεῖρας, εἴ τι ἔχεις ἀγαθὸν εἰς φίλων κτῆσιν, δίδασκε. Οὐδὲ τὸ στόμα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πρὸς τὸ στόμα προσοίσεις ;

Θάρρει, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ στόμα προσοίσω οὐδενί, ἐὰν μὴ καλὸς ᾖ.

Εὐθύς, ἔφη, σύγε, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, τούναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἴρηκας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν, οἱ δὲ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἡδέως προσίενται, νομίζοντες διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καλοὶ καλεῖσθαι.

- 33 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Ὡς τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς φιλήσοντός μου, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς καταφιλήσοντος, θαρρῶν δίδασκε τῶν φίλων τὰ θηρατικά.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ὅταν οὖν, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, φίλος τινὶ βούλῃ γενέσθαι, ἐάσεις με κατεπεῖν σου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι ἄγασαί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς φίλος αὐτοῦ εἶναι ;

Κατηγόρει, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδένα γὰρ οἶδα μισοῦντα τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας.

- 34 Ἐὰν δέ σου προσκατηγορήσω, ἔφη, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχεις πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄρα μὴ διαβάλλεσθαι δόξεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ;

Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι, ἔφη, ἐγγίγνεται εὖνοια πρὸς οὓς ἂν ὑπολάβω εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἐμέ.

- 35 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξέσται μοι λέγειν περὶ σοῦ πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλῃ φίλους ποιήσασθαι· ἐὰν δέ μοι ἔτι ἐξουσίαν δῶς λέγειν περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι ἐπιμελής τε τῶν φίλων εἶ καὶ οὐδενὶ οὕτω χαίρεις ὥς φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις τῶν φίλων ἀγάλλῃ οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς σαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν φίλων χαίρεις οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς σαυτοῦ,

Critobulus, "so teach me any good plan you know for making friends."

"Then won't you put lip to lip either?"

"Courage!" answered Critobulus, "I won't touch a lip with mine either—unless the owner is fair!"

"That's an unfortunate beginning for you, Critobulus! The fair¹ won't submit to such conduct; but the ugly like it, supposing that they are called fair for the beauty of their souls."

"A kiss for the fair," exclaimed Critobulus, "and 33 a thousand kisses for the good! That shall be my motto, so take courage, and teach me the art of catching friends."

"Well then, Critobulus," said Socrates, "when you want to make a new friend, will you let me warn him that you admire him and want his friendship?"

"Warn him by all means: no one hates those who praise him, so far as I know."

"Suppose I go on to warn him that your admira- 34 tion makes you well disposed towards him, you won't think I am slandering you, will you?"

"Nay; when I guess that anyone feels well disposed towards me, a like goodwill towards him is begotten in me."

"Then you will permit me to say this about you 35 to those whose friendship you desire. Now if you will give me permission to tell them besides that you are devoted to your friends and nothing gives you so much pleasure as good friends; that you take as much pride in your friends' fair achievements as in your own, and as much pleasure in your friends'

¹ *i.e.* beautiful in character (soul).

ὅπως τε ταῦτα γίγνηται τοῖς φίλοις οὐκ ἀπο-
κάμνεις μηχανώμενος, καὶ ὅτι ἔγνωκας ἀνδρὸς
ἀρετὴν εἶναι νικᾶν τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα,
τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, πάνυ ἂν οἶμαί σοι
ἐπιτήδειον εἶναί με σύνθηρον τῶν ἀγαθῶν φίλων.

36 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἐμοὶ τοῦτο λέγεις,
ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ ὃν ὅ,τι ἂν βούλῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ
λέγειν;

Μὰ Δί' οὔχ, ὥς ποτε ἐγὼ Ἀσπασίας ἤκουσα·
ἔφη γὰρ τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας μετὰ μὲν
ἀληθείας τὰγαθὰ διαγγελλούσας δεινὰς εἶναι
συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδείαν, ψευδομένας δ'
οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐπαινεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντας
ἅμα μισεῖν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τὴν προμνησαμένην.
ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ
ἐξεῖναί μοι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐπαινοῦντι οὐδὲν ὅ,τι
ἂν μὴ ἀληθεύω.

37 Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τοιοῦτός μοι
φίλος εἶ, ὃ Σώκρατες, οἷος, ἂν μὲν τι αὐτὸς ἔχω
ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὸ φίλους κτήσασθαι, συλλαμ-
βάνειν μοι· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις πλάσας τι
εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ὠφελείᾳ.

Πότερα δ' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὃ Κριτόβουλε,
δοκῶ σοι μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖν σε τὰ ψευδῇ ἐπαινῶν
ἢ πείθων πειρᾶσθαί σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι;
38 εἰ δὲ μὴ φανερόν οὕτω σοι, ἐκ τῶνδε σκέψαι· εἰ
γὰρ σε βουλόμενος φίλον ποιῆσαι ναυκλήρῳ
ψευδόμενος ἐπαινοῖην, φάσκων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
κυβερνήτην, ὁ δέ μοι πεισθεὶς ἐπιτρέψειέ σοι
τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ κυβερνᾶν, ἔχεις τινὰ
ἐλπίδα μὴ ἂν σαυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι;
ἢ εἰ σοι πείσαιμι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος

good as in your own, and never weary of contriving it for your friend's; and you have made up your mind that a man's virtue consists in outdoing his friends in kindness and his enemies in mischief; then I think you will find me a useful companion in the quest of good friends."

"Now why do you say this to me? as if you were 36 not free to say what you choose about me."

"Not so indeed: I can quote Aspasia against you. She once told me that good matchmakers are successful in making marriages only when the good reports they carry to and fro are true; false reports she would not recommend, for the victims of deception hate one another and the matchmaker too. I am convinced that this is sound, and so I think it is not open to me to say anything in your praise that I can't say truthfully."

"It appears, Socrates, that you are the sort of 37 friend to help me if I am in any way qualified to make friends: but if not, you won't make up a story to help me."

"How do you think I shall help you best, Critobulus, by false praise, or by urging you to try to be a good man? If you don't yet see clearly, 38 take the following cases as illustrations. Suppose that I wanted to get a shipmaster to make you his friend, and as a recommendation told him that you are a good skipper, which is untrue; and suppose that he believed me and put you in charge of his ship in spite of your not knowing how to steer it: have you any reason to hope that you would not lose the ship and your life as well? Or suppose that I falsely represented to the Assembly that you

ὥς ἂν στρατηγικῶ τε καὶ δικαστικῶ καὶ πολιτικῶ
 ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι, τί ἂν οἶε σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθεῖν; ἢ εἴ τινας ἰδίᾳ τῶν
 πολιτῶν πείσαιμι ψευδόμενος ὥς ὄντι οἰκονομικῶ
 τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἄρ' οὐκ
 39 ἂν πεῖραν διδοὺς ἅμα τε βλαβερὸς εἴης καὶ κατα-
 ἄσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδός, ὦ Κριτόβουλε,
 ὅ,τι ἂν βούλη δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ
 γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι. ὅσαι δ' ἐν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἀρεταὶ λέγονται, σκοπούμενος εὐρήσεις
 πάσας μαθήσει τε καὶ μελέτῃ αὐξανομένας.
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, οὕτως οἶμαι δεῖν
 ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν.¹ εἰ δὲ σύ πως ἄλλως γιγνώσκεις,
 δίδασκε.

Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, 'Αλλ' αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν,
 ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀντιλέγων τούτοις· οὔτε γὰρ
 καλὰ οὔτε ἀληθῆ λέγοιμ' ἂν.

VII. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀπορίας γε τῶν φίλων τὰς
 μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ἐπειρᾶτο γνώμῃ ἀκείσθαι, τὰς
 δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν διδάσκων κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλήλοις
 ἐπαρκεῖν. ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἃ σύνοιδα
 αὐτῶ.

'Αρίσταρχον γάρ ποτε ὁρῶν σκυθρωπῶς
 ἔχοντα, "Εοικας, ἔφη, ὦ 'Αρίσταρχε, βαρέως
 φέρειν τι. χρὴ δὲ τοῦ βάρους τοῖς φίλοις
 μεταδιδόναι· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τί σε καὶ ἡμεῖς
 κουφίσαιμεν.

2 Καὶ ὁ 'Αρίσταρχος, 'Αλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, ὦ

¹ θηρᾶν is a conjecture in one MS. to fill a gap, and is not right.

are a born general, jurist and statesman in one, and so persuaded the state to commit her fortunes to you, what do you suppose would happen to the state and to yourself under your guidance? Or again, suppose that I falsely described you to certain citizens in private as a thrifty, careful person, and persuaded them to place their affairs in your hands, wouldn't you do them harm and look ridiculous when you came to the test? Nay, Critobulus, if 39 you want to be thought good at anything, you must try to be so; that is the quickest, the surest, the best way.¹ You will find on reflection that every kind of virtue named among men is increased by study and practice. Such is the view I take of our duty, Critobulus. If you have anything to say against it, tell me."

"Why, Socrates," said Critobulus, "I should be ashamed to contradict you, for I should be saying what is neither honourable nor true."

VII. To pass to another subject. The distresses of his friends that arose from ignorance he tried to cure by advice, those that were due to want by telling them how to help one another according to their power. On this subject too I will state what I know about him.

One day, noticing that Aristarchus looked glum, he said: "Aristarchus, you seem to have a burden on your mind. You should let your friends share it; possibly we may do something to ease you."

"Ah yes, Socrates," replied Aristarchus, "I am 2

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 22.

Σώκρατες, ἐν πολλῇ γέ εἰμι ἀπορία. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐστασίασεν ἡ πόλις, πολλῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, συνεληλύθασιν ὥς ἐμὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἀδελφαί τε καὶ ἀδελφιδαῖ καὶ ἀνεψιαὶ τοσαῦται, ὥστ' εἶναι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τέτταρας καὶ δέκα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. λαμβάνομεν δὲ οὔτε ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐδέν· οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς· οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν· ὀλιγανθρωπία γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει γέγονε. τὰ ἔπιπλα δὲ οὐδεὶς ὠνεῖται οὐδὲ δανείσασθαι οὐδαμόθεν ἔστιν ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ζητῶν εὐρεῖν ἢ δανειζόμενος λαβεῖν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς οἰκείους περιορᾶν ἀπολλυμένους, ἀδύνατον δὲ τοσούτους τρέφειν ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν.

- 3 Ἀκούσας οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης, Τί ποτέ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὅτι Κεράμων μὲν πολλοὺς τρέφων οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τούτοις τὰπιτήδεια δύναται παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσαῦτα, ὥστε καὶ πλουτεῖν, σὺ δὲ πολλοὺς τρέφων δέδοικας, μὴ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἅπαντες ἀπόλησθε ;

“Ὅτι νῆ Δί’, ἔφη, ὁ μὲν δούλους τρέφει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρους.

- 4 Καὶ πότερον, ἔφη, τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἐλευθέρους οἷε βελτίους εἶναι ἢ τοὺς παρὰ Κεράμωνι δούλους ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη, τοὺς παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλευθέρους.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, αἰσχρὸν τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηροτέρων εὐπορεῖν, σὲ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίους ἔχοντα ἐν ἀπορία εἶναι ;

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεχνίτας τρέφει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθερίως πεπαιδευμένους.

in great distress. Since the revolution there has been an exodus to the Piræus, and a crowd of my women-folk, being left behind, are come to me,—sisters, nieces and cousins,—so that we are fourteen in the house without counting the slaves. We get nothing from our land, because our enemies have seized it, and nothing from our house property, now there are so few residents in the city. Portable property finds no buyers, and it's quite impossible to borrow money anywhere: I really think a search in the street would have better result than an application for a loan. It's hard, Socrates, to let one's people die, but impossible to keep so many in times like these."

When Socrates heard this, he asked: "How is 3 it that with so many mouths to feed Ceramon not only contrives to provide for the needs of himself and his family, but actually saves enough to make him a rich man, whereas you, with so many mouths to feed, fear you will all be starved to death?"

"The explanation, of course, is this: my dependants are gentlefolk, his are slaves."

"And which do you think are the better, his 4 slaves or your gentlefolk?"

"My gentlefolk, I think."

"Then is it not disgraceful that you with your gentlefolk should be in distress, while he is kept in affluence by his meaner household?"

"Of course his dependants are artisans, while mine have had a liberal education."

5 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, τεχνῖταί εἰσιν οἱ χρήσιμόν τι ποιεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι ;

Μάλιστά γ', ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν χρήσιμά γ' ἄλφιστα ;

Σφόδρα γε.

Τί δ' ἄρτοι ;

Οὐδὲν ἦττον.

Τί γάρ ; ἔφη, ἱμάτιά τε ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα καὶ χιτωνίσκοι καὶ χλαμύδες καὶ ἑξωμίδες ;

Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα χρήσιμα.

Ἐπειτα, ἔφη, οἱ παρὰ σοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπίστανται ποιεῖν ;

Πάντα μὲν οὖν, ὥς ἐγῶμαι.

6 Εἰτ' οὐκ οἶσθ', ὅτι ἀφ' ἐνὸς μὲν τούτων, ἀλφιοτοποιίας, Ναυσικύδης οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας τρέφει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὕς πολλὰς καὶ βούς, καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσαῦτα, ὥστε καὶ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις λειτουργεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρτοποιίας Κύρηβος τήν τε οἰκίαν πᾶσαν διατρέφει καὶ ζῇ δαψιλῶς, Δημέας δ' ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἀπὸ χλαμυδουργίας, Μένων δ' ἀπὸ χλανιδοποιίας, Μεγαρέων δ' οἱ πλείστοι ἀπὸ ἑξωμιδοποιίας διατρέφονται ;

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ὠνούμενοι βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσιν, ὥστ' ἀναγκάζειν ἐργάζεσθαι ἃ καλῶς ἔχει· ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ συγγενεῖς.

7 Ἐπειτ', ἔφη, ὅτι ἐλεύθεροί τ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς σοι, οἷε χρῆναι αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν ; πότερον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθέρων τοὺς οὕτω ζῶντας ἄμεινον διάγοντας ὁρᾷς καὶ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονίζεις ἢ τοὺς

"What is an artisan? one who knows how to 5
produce something useful?"

"Certainly."

"Are groats useful?"

"Yes, very."

"And bread?"

"No less so."

"What about men's and women's cloaks, shirts,
capcs, smocks?"

"Yes, all these things too are very useful."

"Then don't the members of your household
know how to make any of these?"

"I believe they can make all of them."

"Don't you know, then, that by manufacturing 6
one of these commodities, namely groats, Nausicydes
keeps not only himself and his family, but large
herds of swine and cattle as well, and has so much
to spare that he often undertakes costly public
duties; that Cyrebus feeds his whole family well
and lives in luxury by baking bread, Demeas of
Collytus by making capcs, Menon by making cloaks;
and most of the Megarians make a good living out
of smocks?"

"Yes, of course; for they buy foreign slaves
and can force them to make what is convenient,
but my household is made up of gentlefolk and
relations."

"And so, just because they are gentlefolk and 7
related to you, you think they should do nothing
but eat and sleep? Do you find that other gentle-
folk who live this sort of life are better off and

- ἂ ἐπίστανται χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον τούτων ἐπιμελομένους ; ἢ τὴν μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμέλειαν αἰσθάνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τε τὸ μαθεῖν ἂ προσήκει ἐπίστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν ἂ ἂν μάθωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ ἰσχύειν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτήσασθαι τε καὶ σώζειν τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον ὠφέλιμα ὄντα, τὴν δ'
- 8 ἐργασίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδὲν χρήσιμα ; ἔμαθον δὲ ἂ φῆς αὐτὰς ἐπίστασθαι πότερον ὥς οὔτε χρήσιμα ὄντα πρὸς τὸν βίον οὔτε ποιήσουσαι αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἢ τούναντίον ὥς καὶ ἐπιμελησόμεναι τούτων καὶ ὠφεληθησόμεναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ; ποτέρως γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι σωφρονοῖεν, ἀργοῦντες ἢ τῶν χρησίμων ἐπιμελόμενοι ; ποτέρως δ' ἂν δικαιότεροι εἶεν, εἰ ἐργάζονται ἢ εἰ ἀργοῦντες
- 9 βουλευοῖντο περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μὲν, ὥς ἐγὼμαι, οὔτε σὺ ἐκείνας φιλεῖς οὔτ' ἐκείναι σέ, σὺ μὲν ἡγούμενος αὐτὰς ἐπιζημίους εἶναι σεαυτῷ, ἐκείναι δὲ σέ ὀρώσαι ἀχθόμενον ἐφ' ἑαυταῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτων κίνδυνος μείζω τε ἀπέχθειαν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὴν προγεγονυῖαν χάριν μειοῦσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ προστατήσης, ὅπως ἐνεργοὶ ᾧσι, σὺ μὲν ἐκείνας φιλήσεις ὀρῶν ὠφελίμους σεαυτῷ οὔσας, ἐκείναι δὲ σέ ἀγαπήσουσιν αἰσθόμεναι χαίροντα αὐταῖς, τῶν δὲ προγεγονυῖων εὐεργεσιῶν ἥδιον μεμνημένοι τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων χάριν αὐξήσετε καὶ ἐκ τούτων φιλικώτερόν τε
- 10 καὶ οἰκειότερον ἀλλήλοις ἔχετε. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν αἰσχρόν τι ἔμελλον ἐργάσεσθαι, θάνατον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προαιρετέον ἦν· νῦν δὲ ἂ μὲν δοκεῖ κάλλιστα καὶ πρεπωδέστατα γυναιξὶν εἶναι ἐπίστανται, ὥς ἔοικε. πάντες δὲ ἂ ἐπίστανται ῥᾷστά τε καὶ

happier than those who are usefully employed in work that they understand? Or is it your experience that idleness and carelessness help men to learn what they ought to know and remember what they learn, to make themselves healthy and strong, and to get and keep things that are of practical use, but industry and carefulness are useless things? When these women learned the 8 work that you say they understand, did they regard it as of no practical use, and had they no intention of taking it up, or did they mean to occupy themselves in it and obtain some benefit from it? Which makes men more prudent, idleness or useful employment? Which makes men more just, work or idle discussions about supplies? Besides, at present, I 9 fancy, you don't love these ladies and they don't love you: you think they are a tax on you, and they see that you feel them to be a burden. And the danger in this state of things is that dislike may grow and their former gratitude fade away; but if you exert your authority and make them work, you will love them, when you find that they are profitable to you, and they will be fond of you, when they feel that you are pleased with them. Both you and they will like to recall past kindnesses and will strengthen the feeling of gratitude that these engender; thus you will be better friends and feel more at home. To be sure, if they were going to do 10 something disgraceful, death would be a better fate. But in point of fact the work they understand is, as it appears, the work considered the most honourable and the most suitable for a woman; and the work that is understood is always done with the greatest

τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ ἥδιστα ἐργάζονται.
μὴ οὖν ὅκνει, ἔφη, ταῦτα εἰσηγεῖσθαι αὐταῖς, ἃ
σοί τε λυσιτελήσει καὶ κείναις, καί, ὡς εἰκός,
ἡδέως ὑπακούσονται.

11 Ἄλλὰ νῆ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος,
οὕτως μοι δοκεῖς καλῶς λέγειν, ὦ Σώκρατες,
ὥστε πρόσθεν μὲν οὐ προσιέμην δανείσασθαι
εἰδώς, ὅτι ἀναλώσας ὃ ἂν λάβω οὐχ ἔξω ἀπο-
δοῦναι, νῦν δέ μοι δοκῶ εἰς ἔργων ἀφορμὴν
ὑπομενεῖν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι.

12 Ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν ἀφορμή, ἐωνήθη
δὲ ἔρια, καὶ ἐργαζόμεναι μὲν ἡρίστων, ἐργασά-
μεναι δὲ ἐδείπνου, ἱλαραὶ δὲ ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν
ἦσαν καὶ ἀντὶ ὑφορωμένων ἑαυτοὺς ἡδέως ἀλλή-
λους ἐώρων, καὶ αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφίλουν, ὁ
δὲ ὡς ὠφελίμους ἠγάπα. τέλος δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς
τὸν Σωκράτην χαίρων διηγείτο ταῦτά τε καὶ ὅτι
αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀργὸν
ἐσθίειν.

13 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Εἰπ' οὐ λέγεις αὐταῖς
τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον; φασὶ γάρ, ὅτε φωνήεντα
ἦν τὰ ζῶα, τὴν οὖν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην εἰπεῖν·
Θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὃς ἡμῖν μὲν ταῖς καὶ ἔριά σοι
καὶ ἄρνας καὶ τυρὸν παρεχούσαις οὐδὲν δίδως
ὅ,τι ἂν μὴ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λάβωμεν, τῷ δὲ κυνί, ὃς
οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν σοι παρέχει, μεταδίδως οὐπερ
14 αὐτὸς ἔχεις σίτου. τὸν κύνα οὖν ἀκούσαντα
εἰπεῖν· Ναὶ μὰ Δί'· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς
αὐτὰς σώζων, ὥστε μήτε ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κλέ-
πτεσθαι μήτε ὑπὸ λύκων ἀρπάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς
γε, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ προφυλάττοιμι ὑμᾶς, οὐδ' ἂν
νέμεσθαι δύναισθε φοβούμεναι, μὴ ἀπόλησθε.

ease, speed, pride and pleasure. So do not hesitate to offer them work that will yield a return both to you and to them, and probably they will welcome your proposal."

"Well, well," said Aristarchus, "your advice 11 seems so good, Socrates, that I think I shall now bring myself to borrow capital to make a start. Hitherto I have had no inclination to do so, knowing that when I had spent the loan I should not have the wherewithal to repay it."

The consequence was that capital was provided 12 and wool purchased. The women worked during dinner and only stopped at the supper hour. There were happy instead of gloomy faces: suspicious glances were exchanged for pleasant smiles. They loved him as a guardian and he liked them because they were useful. Finally Aristarchus came to Socrates and told him this with delight. "One objection they have to me," he added: "I am the only member of the household who eats the bread of idleness."

"Then why not tell them the story of the dog?" 13 asked Socrates. "It is said that when beasts could talk, a sheep said to her master: 'It is strange that you give us sheep nothing but what we get from the land, though we supply you with wool and lambs and cheese, and yet you share your own food with your dog, who supplies you with none of these things.' The dog heard this, and said: 'Of course 14 he does. Do not I keep you from being stolen by thieves, and carried off by wolves? Why, but for my protection you couldn't even feed for fear of

οὕτω δὴ λέγεται καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συγχωρήσαι τὸν κύνα προτιμᾶσθαι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ἐκείναις λέγε, ὅτι ἀντὶ κυνὸς εἰ φύλαξ καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ διὰ σέ οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀδικούμεναι ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ ἡδέως ἐργαζόμεναι ζῶσιν.

VIII. Ἄλλον δέ ποτε ἀρχαῖον ἐταῖρον διὰ χρόνου ἰδὼν, Πόθεν, ἔφη, Εὐθηρε, φαίνῃ;

Ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας, νυνὶ μέντοι αὐτόθεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀφηρέθην μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ πατήρ μοι οὐδὲν κατέλιπεν, ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν ἐπιδημήσας τῷ σώματι ἐργαζόμενος τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοῦτο κρεῖττον εἶναι ἢ δεῖσθαί τινος ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλως τε καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα, ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν δανειζοίμην.

- 2 Καὶ πόσον ἂν χρόνον οἶε σοι, ἔφη, τὸ σῶμα ἱκανὸν εἶναι μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργάζεσθαι;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ πολὺν χρόνον.

Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, ὅταν γε πρεσβύτερος γένη, δῆλον ὅτι δαπάνης μὲν δεήσῃ, μισθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς σοι ἐθελήσει τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔργων διδόναι.

- 3 Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, κρεῖττόν ἐστιν αὐτόθεν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἃ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ γενομένῳ ἐπαρκέσει, καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ τῶν πλείονα χρήματα κεκτημένων, τῷ δεομένῳ τοῦ συνεπιμελησομένου, ἔργων τε ἐπιστατούντα καὶ συγκομίζοντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ συμφυλάττοντα τὴν οὐσίαν ὠφελοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι.

- 4 Χαλεπῶς ἄν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, δουλείαν ὑπομείναιμι.

being killed.' And so, they say, the sheep admitted the dog's claim to preference. Do you then tell these women that you are their watch-dog and keeper, and it is due to you that they live and work in safety and comfort, with none to harm them."

VIII. Again, on meeting an old comrade after long absence he said: "Where do you come from, Eutherus?"

"I came home when the war ended, Socrates, and am now living here," he replied. "Since we have lost our foreign property, and my father left me nothing in Attica, I am forced to settle down here now and work for my living with my hands. I think it's better than begging, especially as I have no security to offer for a loan."

"And how long will you have the strength, do 2 you think, to earn your living by your work?"

"Oh, not long, of course."

"But remember, when you get old you will have to spend money, and nobody will be willing to pay you for your labour."

"True."

"Then it would be better to take up some kind 3 of work at once that will assure you a competence when you get old, and to go to somebody who is better off and wants an assistant, and get a return for your services by acting as his bailiff, helping to get in his crops and looking after his property."

"I shouldn't like to make myself a slave, 4 Socrates."

Καὶ μὴν οἳ γε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστατεύοντες καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐ δουλοπρεπέστεροι ἔνεκα τούτου, ἀλλ' ἐλευθεριώτεροι νομίζονται.

- 5 "Ὀλως, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ ὑπαίτιον εἶναί τιμι οὐ πάνυ προσίεμαι. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, Εὐθηρε, οὐ πάνυ γε ῥάδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχοι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὕτω τι ποιῆσαι, ὥστε μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τι ποιήσαντα μὴ ἀγνώμονι κριτῇ περιτυχεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἷς νῦν ἐργάζεσθαι φῆς θαυμάζω
- 6 εἰ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν ἀνέγκλητον διαγίγνεσθαι. χρή οὖν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς φιλαιτίους φεύγειν καὶ τοὺς εὐγνώμονας διώκειν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσα μὲν δύνασαι ποιεῖν ὑπομένειν, ὅσα δὲ μὴ δύνασαι φυλλάττεσθαι, ὅ,τι δ' ἂν πράττης, τούτου ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ προθυμότατα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἤκιστ' ἂν μὲν σε οἶμαι ἐν αἰτία εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ βοήθειαν εὐρεῖν, ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότατα ζῆν καὶ εἰς τὸ γῆρας διαρκέστατα.

ΙΧ. Οἶδα δέ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ Κρίτωνος ἀκούσαντα, ὡς χαλεπὸν ὁ βίος Ἀθήνησιν εἶη ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν. Νῦν γάρ, ἔφη, ἐμέ τινες εἰς δίκας ἄγουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀδικοῦνται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομίζουσιν ἥδιον ἂν με ἀργύριον τελέσαι ἢ πράγματα ἔχειν.

- 2 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, κύνας δὲ τρέφεις, ἵνα σοι τοὺς λύκους ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἀπερύκωσι ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· μᾶλλον γάρ μοι λυσιτελεῖ τρέφειν ἢ μή.

Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θρέψαις καὶ ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἐθέλοι

"But surely those who control their cities and take charge of public affairs are thought more respectable, not more slavish on that account."

"Briefly, Socrates, I have no inclination to expose myself to any man's censure."

"But, you see, Eutherus, it is by no means easy to find a post in which one is not liable to censure. Whatever one does, it is difficult to avoid mistakes, and it is difficult to escape unfair criticism even if one makes no mistakes. I wonder if you find it easy to avoid complaints entirely even from your present employers. You should try, therefore, to have no truck with grumblers and to attach yourself to considerate masters; to undertake such duties as you can perform and beware of any that are too much for you, and, whatever you do, to give of your best and put your heart into the business. In this way, I think, you are most likely to escape censure, find relief from your difficulties, live in ease and security, and obtain an ample competence for old age."

IX. I remember that he once heard Criton say that life at Athens was difficult for a man who wanted to mind his own business. "At this moment," Criton added, "actions are pending against me not because I have done the plaintiffs an injury, but because they think that I would sooner pay than have trouble."

"Tell me, Criton," said Socrates, "do you keep 2 dogs to fend the wolves from your sheep?"

"Certainly," replied Criton, "because it pays me better to keep them."

"Then why not keep a man who may be able

τε καὶ δύναιτό σου ἀπερύκειν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν σε ;

Ἡδέως γ' ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ φοβοίμην, ὅπως μὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν με τράποιτο.

3 Τί δ' ; ἔφη, οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πολλῶ ἡδιόν ἐστι χαριζόμενον οἷώ σοι ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἀπεχθόμενον ὠφελείσθαι ; εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐνθάδε τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν οἱ πάννυ ἂν φιλοτιμηθεῖεν φίλῳ σοι χρῆσθαι.

4 Καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀνευρίσκουσιν Ἀρχέδημον, πάννυ μὲν ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πράξαι, πέννητα δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἷος ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν, ἀλλὰ φιλόχρηστός τε καὶ ἔφη ῥᾶστον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν. τούτῳ οὖν ὁ Κρίτων, ὁπότε συγκομίζοι ἢ σῖτον ἢ ἔλαιον ἢ οἶνον ἢ ἔρια ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ γιγνομένων χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν βίον, ἀφελὼν ἐδίδου καὶ ὁπότε θύοι,

5 ἐκάλει καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ἐπεμελέετο. νομίσας δὲ ὁ Ἀρχέδημος ἀποστροφὴν οἱ τὸν Κρίτωνος οἶκον μάλα περιεῖπεν αὐτόν. καὶ εὐθύς τῶν συκοφαντούντων τὸν Κρίτωνα ἀνευρίσκει πολλὰ μὲν ἀδικήματα, πολλοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, καὶ αὐτῶν τινα προσεκαλεσαῖτο¹ εἰς δίκην δημοσίαν, ἐν ἣ αὐτὸν ἔδει κριθῆναι, ὅ,τι δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀπο-

6 τίσαι. ὁ δὲ συνειδὼς αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ πονηρὰ πάντ' ἐποίει, ὥστε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Ἀρχεδήμου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος οὐκ ἀπηλλάττετο, ἕως τὸν τε

7 Κρίτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτῷ χρήματα ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ὁ Ἀρχέδημος διεπράξατο, ἥδη τότε, ὥσπερ ὅταν νομεὺς ἀγαθὸν κύνα ἔχῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι νομεῖς βούλονται πλησίον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἰστάναι, ἵνα τοῦ κυνὸς ἀπο-

and willing to fend off the attempts to injure you?"

"I would gladly do so were I not afraid that he might turn on me."

"What? don't you see that it is much pleasanter ³ to profit by humouring a man like you than by quarrelling with him? I assure you there are men in this city who would take pride in your friendship."

Thereupon they sought out Archedemus, an ⁴ excellent speaker and man of affairs, but poor. For he was not one of those who make money unscrupulously, but an honest man, and he would say that it was easy to take forfeit from false accusers. So whenever Criton was storing corn, oil, wine, wool or other farm produce, he would make a present of a portion to Archedemus, and when he sacrificed, he invited him, and in fact lost no similar opportunity of showing courtesy. Archedemus came to ⁵ regard Criton's house as a haven of refuge and constantly paid his respects to him. He soon found out that Criton's false accusers had much to answer for and many enemies. He brought one of them to trial on a charge involving damages or imprisonment. The defendant, conscious that he was guilty ⁶ on many counts, did all he could to get quit of Archedemus. But Archedemus refused to let him off until he withdrew the action against Criton and compensated him. Archedemus carried through ⁷ several other enterprises of a similar kind; and now many of Criton's friends begged him to make Archedemus their protector, just as when a shepherd

¹ προσεκαλεῖτο, Sauppe with A.

λαύωσιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ Κρίτωνος πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἐδέοντο καὶ σφίσι παρέχειν φύλακα τὸν
 8 Ἀρχέδημον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος τῷ Κρίτῳ ἡδέως ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Κρίτων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τούτων, οἷς ἀπήχθετο, ὀνειδίζοι, ὥς ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος ὠφελούμενος κολακεύοι αὐτόν, Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρχέδημος, αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν εὐεργετούμενον ὑπὸ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀντευεργετοῦντα τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς διαφέρεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἀδικεῖν πειρώμενον ἐχθροῖς ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς συνεργοῦντα πειρᾶσθαι φίλους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἀντ' ἐκείνων;

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἷς τε τῶν Κρίτωνος φίλων Ἀρχέδημος ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Κρίτωνος φίλων ἐτιμᾶτο.

X. Οἶδα δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ αὐτὸν ἐταίρῳ ὄντι τοιᾶδε διαλεχθέντα·

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Διόδωρε, ἂν τίς σοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδρᾷ, ἐπιμελῇ, ὅπως ἀνασώσῃ;

2 Καὶ ἄλλους γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη, παρακαλῶ σῶστρα τούτου ἀνακηρύττων.

Τί γάρ; ἔφη, εἴαν τίς σοι κάμνῃ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτου ἐπιμελῇ καὶ παρακαλεῖς ἰατρούς, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνῃ;

Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη.

Εἰ δέ τίς σοι τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔφη, πολὺ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρησιμώτερος ὢν κινδυνεύοι δι' ἔνδειαν ἀπολέσθαι, οὐκ οἶε σοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπιμεληθῆναι,

has a good dog the other shepherds want to pen their flocks near his, in order to get the use of his dog. Archedemus was glad to humour Criton, and so there was peace not only for Criton but for his friends as well. If anyone whom he had offended reproached Archedemus with flattering Criton because he found him useful, he would answer: "Which, then, is disgraceful: to have honest men for your friends, by accepting and returning their favours, and to fall out with rogues; or to treat gentlemen as enemies by trying to injure them, and to make friends of rogues by siding with them, and to prefer their intimacy?"¹

Henceforward Archedemus was respected by Criton's friends and was himself numbered among them.

X. Again I recall the following conversation between him and his companion Diodorus.

"Tell me, Diodorus," he said, "if one of your servants runs away, do you take steps to bring him back safe?"

"Yes, of course," he replied, "and I invite others to help, by offering a reward for the recovery of the man."

"And further, if one of your servants is ill, do you take care of him and call in doctors to prevent him dying?"

"Indeed I do."

"Well, suppose that one of your acquaintance, who is much more useful than your servants, is near being ruined by want, don't you think it worth your

¹ The Archedemus surpasses even the Socrates of Xenophon in the art of dressing up the obvious in the guise of a conundrum.

- 3 ὅπως διασωθῇ; καὶ μὴν οἴσθ' ἄγε, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγνώμων ἐστὶν Ἑρμογένης· αἰσχύνοιτο δ' ἂν, εἰ ὠφελούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ἀντωφελοῖή σε. καίτοι τὸ ὑπηρέτην ἐκόντα τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ παραμόνιμον καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ἱκανὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ μόνον τὸ κελευόμενον ἱκανὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενον καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ προνοεῖν καὶ προβουλεύεσθαι
- 4 πολλῶν οἰκετῶν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι. οἱ μέντοι ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι, ὅταν τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον μικροῦ ἐξῇ πρίασθαι, τότε φασὶ δεῖν ὠνεῖσθαι. νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι.
- 5 Καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος, Ἄλλὰ καλῶς γε, ἔφη, λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς ἐμὲ τὸν Ἑρμογένην.
- Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε· νομίζω γὰρ οὔτε σοὶ κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ καλέσαι ἐκείνον τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνον οὔτ' ἐκείνῳ μείζον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πραχθῆναι ταῦτα ἢ σοί.
- 6 Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Διόδωρος ὥχετο πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμογένην, καὶ οὐ πολὺ τελέσας ἐκτήσατο φίλον, ὃς ἔργον εἶχε σκοπεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἢ λέγων ἢ πράττων ὠφελοῖη τε καὶ εὐφραίνει Διόδωρον.

while to take steps to save him? Now you know 3
 that Hermogenes is a conscientious man and would
 be ashamed to take a favour from you without
 making a return. Yet surely it is worth many
 servants to have a willing, loyal, staunch subordi-
 nate, capable of doing what he is told, and not only
 so, but able to make himself useful unbidden, to
 think clearly and give advice. Good householders, 4
 you know, say that the right time to buy is when a
 valuable article can be bought at a low price; and
 in these times the circumstances afford an oppor-
 tunity of acquiring good friends very cheap."

"Thank you, Socrates," said Diodorus, "pray bid 5
 Hermogenes call on me."

"No, indeed I won't," said he; "for in my
 opinion it is at least as good for you to go to him
 yourself as to invite him to come to you, and you
 have quite as much to gain as he by doing so."

The consequence was that Diodorus set off to visit 6
 Hermogenes; and in return for a small sum he
 acquired a friend who made a point of thinking how
 he could help and please him either by word or
 deed.

BOOK III

Γ

Ι. "Οτι δὲ τοὺς ὀρεγομένους τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-
μελεῖς ὧν ὀρέγοντο ποιῶν ὠφέλει, νῦν τοῦτο
διηγῆσομαι. ἀκούσας γάρ ποτε Διονυσόδωρον
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον στρατηγεῖν
διδάξειν, ἔλεξε πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνόντων, ὃν
ἠσθάνετο βουλόμενον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἐν τῇ πόλει
2 τυχεῖν. Αἰσχροὺς μέντοι, ὦ νεανία, τὸν βουλό-
μενον ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατηγεῖν, ἐξὸν τοῦτο μαθεῖν,
ἀμελῆσαι αὐτοῦ· καὶ δικαίως ἂν οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς
πόλεως ζημιοῖτο πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ἀνδριάντας
3 ἐργολαβοίη μὴ μεμαθηκὼς ἀνδριαντοποιεῖν. ὅλης
γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις
ἐπιτρεπομένης τῷ στρατηγῷ, μεγάλα τά τε
ἀγαθὰ κατορθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κακὰ δια-
μαρτάνοντος εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν
δικαίως ὁ τοῦ μὲν μανθάνειν τοῦτο ἀμελῶν, τοῦ
δὲ αἰρεθῆναι ἐπιμελούμενος ζημιοῖτο ;

Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ λέγων ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα
4 μανθάνειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμαθηκὼς ἦκε, προσέπαιζεν
αὐτῷ λέγων· Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ
"Ομηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα γεραρὸν ἔφη εἶναι, καὶ
ὅδε στρατηγεῖν μαθὼν γεραρώτερος φαίνεσθαι ;
καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ κιθαρίζειν μαθὼν καὶ εἰ μὴ
κιθαρίζη, κιθαριστὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ μαθὼν ἰᾶσθαι
κἂν μὴ ἰατρεύῃ, ὅμως ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ ὅδε
ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου διατελεῖ στρατηγὸς ὢν,
κἂν μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἔληται. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος

BOOK III

I. I WILL now explain how he helped those who were eager to win distinction by making them qualify themselves for the honours they coveted.

He once heard that Dionysodorus had arrived at Athens, and gave out that he was going to teach generalship. Being aware that one of his companions wished to obtain the office of general from the state, he addressed him thus: "Young man, 2 surely it would be disgraceful for one who wishes to be a general in the state to neglect the opportunity of learning the duties, and he would deserve to be punished by the state much more than one who carved statues without having learned to be a sculptor. For in the dangerous times of war the 3 whole state is in the general's hands, and great good may come from his success and great evil from his failure. Therefore anyone who exerts himself to gain the votes, but neglects to learn the business, deserves punishment."

This speech persuaded the man to go and learn. When he had learnt his lesson and returned, Soc- 4 rates chaffed him. "Don't you think, sirs," he said, "that our friend looks more 'majestic,' as Homer called Agamemnon, now that he has learnt generalship? For just as he who has learnt to play the harp is a harper even when he doesn't play, and he who has studied medicine is a doctor even though he doesn't practise, so our friend will be a general for ever, even if no one votes for him. But your

οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἐὰν ὑπὸ
 5 πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἰρεθῇ. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ἵνα καὶ
 ἐὰν ἡμῶν τις ἢ ταξιαρχῇ ἢ λοχαγῇ σοι, ἐπι-
 στημονέστεροι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὦμεν, λέξον ἡμῖν,
 πόθεν ἡρξατό σε διδάσκειν τὴν στρατηγίαν.

Καὶ ὅς, Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἔφη, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ
 ἐτελεύτα· τὰ γὰρ τακτικὰ ἐμέ γε καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν
 ἐδίδαξεν.

6 Ἄλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦτό γε
 πολλοστὸν μέρος ἐστὶ στρατηγίας. καὶ γὰρ
 παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν
 στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ ποριστικὸν τῶν ἐπιτη-
 δείων τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ μηχανικὸν καὶ ἐργαστι-
 κὸν καὶ ἐπιμελῇ καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ ἀγχίνουν καὶ
 φιλόφρονά τε καὶ ὤμον καὶ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ
 ἐπίβουλον καὶ φυλακτικόν τε καὶ κλέπτην
 καὶ προετικὸν καὶ ἄρπαγα καὶ φιλόδωρον καὶ
 πλεονέκτην καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ ἄλλα
 πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δεῖ τὸν εὖ
 7 στρατηγήσοντα ἔχειν. καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν
 εἶναι· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει στράτευμα τεταγμένον
 ἀτάκτου, ὥσπερ λίθοι τε καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα
 καὶ κέραμος ἀτάκτως μὲν ἐρριμμένα οὐδὲν
 χρήσιμά ἐστιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταχθῇ κάτω μὲν καὶ
 ἐπιπολῆς τὰ μήτε σηπόμενα μήτε τηκόμενα, οἷ
 τε λίθοι καὶ ὁ κέραμος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αἷ τε πλίνθοι
 καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίᾳ συντίθενται,
 τότε γίγνεται πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα οἰκία.

8 Ἄλλὰ πάνυ, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, ὅμοιον, ὦ
 Σώκρατες, εἴρηκας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς
 ἀρίστους πρῶτους δεῖ τάττειν καὶ τελευταίους, ἐν

ignoramus is neither general nor doctor, even if he gets every vote. But," he continued, "in order that any one of us who may happen to command a regiment or platoon under you may have a better knowledge of warfare, tell us the first lesson he gave you in generalship."

"The first was like the last," he replied; "he taught me tactics—nothing else."

"But then that is only a small part of generalship. 6 For a general must also be capable of furnishing military equipment and providing supplies for the men;¹ he must be resourceful, active, careful, hardy and quick-witted; he must be both gentle and brutal, at once straightforward and designing, capable of both caution and surprise, lavish and rapacious, generous and mean, skilful in defence and attack; and there are many other qualifications, some natural, some acquired, that are necessary to one who would succeed as a general. It is well to 7 understand tactics too; for there is a wide difference between right and wrong disposition of the troops,² just as stones, bricks, timber and tiles flung together anyhow are useless, whereas when the materials that neither rot nor decay, that is, the stones and tiles, are placed at the bottom and the top, and the bricks and timber are put together in the middle, as in building, the result is something of great value, a house, in fact."

"Your analogy is perfect, Socrates," said the 8 youth; "for in war one must put the best men in the van and the rear,³ and the worst in the centre,

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 14.

² *Ibid.*, VI. iii. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, VII. v. 4.

μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς χειρίστους, ἵνα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄγωνται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ὠθῶνται.

- 9 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· εἰ δὲ μή, τί σοι ὄφελος ὦν ἔμαθες ; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ σε ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ κάλλιστον τάττειν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τὸ χεῖριστον, μὴ διδάξας διαγιγνώσκειν τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κίβδηλον, οὐδὲν ἂν σοι ὄφελος ᾖν.

Ἄλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν· ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἂν ἡμᾶς δέοι τοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κρίνειν.

- 10 Τί οὖν οὐ σκοποῦμεν, ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ διαμαρτάνοιμεν ;

Βούλομαι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, εἰ μὲν ἀργύριον δέοι ἀρπάζειν, τοὺς φιλαργυρωτάτους πρῶτους καθιστάντες ὀρθῶς ἂν τάττοιμεν ;

Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Τί δὲ τοὺς κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντας ; ἄρα τοὺς φιλοτιμοτάτους προτακτέον ;

Οὗτοι γοῦν εἰσιν, ἔφη, οἱ ἔνεκα ἐπαίνου κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες. οὐ τοίνυν οὗτοί γε ἄδηλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιφανεῖς πανταχοῦ ὄντες εὐεύρετοι ἂν εἶεν.

- 11 Ἀτάρ, ἔφη, πότερά σε τάττειν μόνον ἐδίδαξεν ἢ καὶ ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως χρηστέον ἐκάστῳ τῶν ταγμάτων ;

Οὐ πάννυ, ἔφη.

Καὶ μὴν πολλὰ γ' ἐστί, πρὸς ἃ οὔτε τάττειν οὔτε ἄγειν ὡσαύτως προσήκει.

Ἄλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ διεσαφήνιζε ταῦτα.

that they may be led by the van and driven forward by the rearguard."

"Well and good, provided that he taught you also 9 to distinguish the good and the bad men. If not, what have you gained by your lessons? No more than you would have gained if he had ordered you to put the best money at the head and tail, and the worst in the middle, without telling you how to distinguish good from base coin."

"I assure you he didn't; so we should have to judge for ourselves which are the good men and which are the bad."

"Then we had better consider how we may avoid 10 mistaking them."

"I want to do so," said the youth.

"Well now," said Socrates, "if we had to lay hands on a sum of money, would not the right arrangement be to put the most covetous men in the front?"

"I think so."

"And what should we do with those who are going to face danger? Should our first line consist of the most ambitious?"

"Oh yes: they are the men who will face danger for the sake of glory. About these, now, there is no mystery: they are conspicuous everywhere, and so it is easy to find them."

"But," said Socrates, "did he teach you only the 11 disposition of an army, or did he include where and how to use each formation?"

"Not at all."

"And yet there are many situations that call for a modification of tactics and strategy."

"I assure you he didn't explain that."

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πάλιν τοίνυν ἐλθὼν ἐπανερώτα· ἦν γὰρ ἐπίσθηται καὶ μὴ ἀναιδὴς ἦ, αἰσχυνεῖται ἀργύριον εἰληφῶς ἐνδεᾶ σε ἀποπέμψασθαι.

II. Ἐντυχὼν δέ ποτε στρατηγεῖν ῥημένῳ τῷ, Τοῦ ἔνεκεν, ἔφη, "Ομηρον οἶει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προσαγορεύσαι ποιμένα λαῶν; ἄρά γε ὅτι ὥσπερ τὸν ποιμένα δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως σῶαί τε ἔσονται αἱ οἶες καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα τρέφονται, τοῦτο ἔσται, οὕτω καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅπως σῶαί τε οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα στρατεύονται, τοῦτο ἔσται; στρατεύονται δέ, ἵνα κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων εὐδαιμονέστεροι 2 ᾧσιν. ἦ τί δήποτε οὕτως ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἰπών·

Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής;

ἄρά γε ὅτι αἰχμητής τε κρατερός ἂν εἴη, οὐκ εἰ μόνος αὐτὸς εὖ ἀγωνίζοιτο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτου αἴτιος εἴη, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀγαθός, οὐκ εἰ μόνου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καλῶς προεστήκοι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὧν 3 βασιλεύοι, τούτοις εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιος εἴη; καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελῇται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσιν· καὶ στρατεύονται δὲ πάντες, ἵνα ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς ὡς βέλτιστος ἦ, καὶ στρατηγοὺς αἰροῦνται τούτου ἔνεκα, ἵνα πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς 4 ἡγεμόνες ᾧσι. δεῖ οὖν τὸν στρατηγούμενον τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν τοῖς ἐλομένοις αὐτὸν στρατηγόν·

“Then pray go back and ask him. If he knows and has a conscience, he will be ashamed to send you home ill-taught, after taking your money.”

II. One day when he met a man who had been chosen general, he asked him,¹ “For what reason, think you, is Agamemnon dubbed ‘Shepherd of the people’ by Homer?² Is it because a shepherd must see that his sheep are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they are kept is attained, and a general must see that his men are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they fight is attained, or, in other words, that victory over the enemy may add to their happiness? Or what reason ² can Homer have for praising Agamemnon as ‘both a good king and a doughty warrior too’?³ Is it that he would be ‘a doughty warrior too’ not if he alone were a good fighter, but if he made all his men like himself; and ‘a good king’ not if he merely ordered his own life aright, but if he made his subjects happy as well? Because a king is chosen, not to take ³ good care of himself, but for the good of those who have chosen him;⁴ and all men fight in order that they may get the best life possible, and choose generals to guide them to it. Therefore it is the ⁴ duty of a commander to contrive this for those who have chosen him for general. For anything more

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. xi. 14.

² *Iliad*, ii. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 179.

⁴ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 8.

καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κάλλιον τούτου ἄλλο ῥᾶδιον εὔρεῖν οὔτε αἰσχίον τοῦ ἐναντίου.

Καὶ οὕτως ἐπισκοπῶν, τίς εἶη ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀρετή, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιήρει, κατέλειπε δὲ τὸ εὐδαίμονας ποιεῖν ὧν ἂν ἡγῆται.

III. Καὶ ἵππαρχεῖν δέ τινι ἡρημένῳ οἶδά ποτε αὐτὸν τοιάδε διαλεχθέντα·

Ἔχouis ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ νεανία, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅτου ἔνεκα ἐπεθύμησας ἵππαρχεῖν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἱππέων ἐλαύνειν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποτοξόται τούτου γε ἀξιοῦνται· προελαύνουσι γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἱππάρχων.

Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ γνωσθῆναί γε· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μαινόμενοί γε ὑπὸ πάντων γινώσκονται.

Ἀληθές, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο λέγεις.

- 2 Ἄλλ' ἄρα ὅτι τὸ ἱππικὸν οἶει ἂν τῇ πόλει βέλτιον ποιήσας παραδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ τις χρεῖα γίγνοιτο ἱππέων, τούτων ἡγούμενος ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Καὶ ἔστι γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καλόν, εἰ δύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῆσαι. ἢ δὲ ἀρχή που, ἐφ' ἣν ἥρησαι, ἵππων τε καὶ ἀμβατῶν ἐστίν.

Ἔστι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη.

- 3 Ἴθι δὴ λέξον ἡμῖν τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὅπως διανοῇ τοὺς ἵππους βελτίους ποιῆσαι;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐμὸν οἶμαι τὸ ἔργον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἰδία ἕκαστον δεῖν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἵππου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

- 4 Ἐὰν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, παρέχωνταί σοι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ μὲν οὕτως κακόποδας ἢ κακο-

honourable than that is not easy to find, or anything more disgraceful than its opposite."

By these reflections on what constitutes a good leader he stripped away all other virtues, and left just the power to make his followers happy.

III. Again, when someone had been chosen a leader of cavalry, I remember that Socrates conversed with him in the following manner :

"Young man," he said, "can you tell us why you hankered after a cavalry command? I presume it was not to be first of the cavalry in the charge; for that privilege belongs to the mounted archers; at any rate they ride ahead of their commanders even."

"True."

"Nor was it to get yourself known either. Even madmen are known to everyone."

"True again."

"But perhaps you think you can hand over the 2 cavalry in better condition to the state when you retire, and can do something for the good of the state as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm?"

"Yes, certainly," said he.

"Yes," said Socrates, "and no doubt it is a fine thing if you can do that. The command, I presume, for which you have been chosen, is the command of horses and riders."

"Indeed it is."

"Come then, tell us first how you propose to 3 improve the horses."

"Oh, but I don't think that is my business. Every man must look after his own horse."

"Then if some of your men appear on parade with 4 their horses ailing or suffering from bad feet or sore

σκελεῖς ἢ ἀσθενεῖς, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀτρόφους, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναγώγους, ὥστε μὴ μένειν ὅπου ἂν σὺ τάξης, οἱ δὲ οὕτως λακτιστάς, ὥστε μηδὲ τάξαι δυνατὸν εἶναι, τί σοι τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ὄφελος ἔσται; ἢ πῶς δυνήσῃ τοιούτων ἡγούμενος ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἀλλὰ καλῶς τε λέγεις, ἔφη, καὶ πειράσομαι τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

5 Τί δέ; τοὺς ἵππείας οὐκ ἐπιχειρήσεις, ἔφη, βελτίονας ποιῆσαι;

Ἔγωγ', ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν ἀναβατικωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ποιήσεις αὐτούς;

Δεῖ γοῦν, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις αὐτῶν καταπέσοι, μάλλον ἂν οὕτω σώζοιτο.

6 Τί γάρ; ἐάν που κινδυνεύειν δέῃ, πότερον ἐπάγειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον κελεύσεις, ἔνθα περ εἰώθατε ἵππεύειν, ἢ πειράσῃ τὰς μελέτας ἐν τοιούτοις ποιεῖσθαι χωρίοις, ἐν οἷοις περ οἱ πόλεμοι γίνονται;

Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη.

7 Τί γάρ; τοῦ βάλλειν ὡς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιήσῃ;

Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο.

Θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἵππέων καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἅπερ ἀλκιμωτέρους ποιεῖ, διανενόησαι;

Εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πειράσομαι, ἔφη.

8 Ὅπως δέ σοι πείθονται οἱ ἵππεῖς, πεφρόντικάς τι; ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτου οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε ἵππέων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀλκίμων οὐδὲν ὄφελος.

legs, others with underfed animals that can't go the pace, others with restive brutes that won't keep in line, others with such bad kickers that it is impossible to line them up at all, what will you be able to make of your cavalry? how will you be able to do the state any good with a command like that?"

"I am much obliged to you," he replied, "and I will try to look after the horses carefully."

"Won't you also try to improve the men?" said 5 Socrates.

"I will."

"Then will you first train them to mount better?"

"Oh yes, I must, so that if anyone is thrown he may have a better chance of saving himself."

"Further, when there is some danger before you, 6 will you order them to draw the enemy into the sandy ground where your manœuvres are held, or will you try to carry out your training in the kind of country that the enemy occupy?"

"Oh yes, that is the better way."

"And again, will you pay much attention to 7 bringing down as many of the enemy as possible without dismounting?"

"Oh yes, that too is the better way."

"Have you thought of fostering a keen spirit among the men and hatred of the enemy, so as to make them more gallant in action?"

"Well, at any rate, I will try to do so now."

"And have you considered how to make the men 8 obey you? Because without that horses and men, however good and gallant, are of no use."

Ἀληθῇ λέγεις, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς προτρέψαιτο ;

- 9 Ἐκείνο μὲν δήπου οἶσθα, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ πράγματι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τούτοις μάλιστα ἐθέλουσι πείθεσθαι, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν νόσῳ ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται ἰατρικώτατον εἶναι, τούτῳ μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ ἐν πλῶ ὃν ἂν κυβερνητικώτατον, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ὃν ἂν γεωργικώτατον.

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν εἰκός, ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἵππικῇ ὃς ἂν μάλιστα εἰδὼς φαίνεται ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐθέλειν τοὺς ἄλλους πείθεσθαι.

- 10 Ἐὰν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, βέλτιστος ὢν αὐτῶν δῆλος ὦ, ἀρκέσει μοι τοῦτο εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμοί ;

Ἐάν γε πρὸς τούτῳ, ἔφη, διδάξης αὐτούς, ὥς τὸ πείθεσθαί σοι κάλλιον τε καὶ σωτηριώτερον αὐτοῖς ἔσται.

Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτο διδάξω ;

Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ῥᾶον ἢ εἴ σοι δέοι διδάσκειν, ὥς τὰ κακὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμείνω καὶ λυσιτελέστερά ἐστι.

- 11 Λέγεις, ἔφη, σὺ τὸν ἵππαρχον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοῦ λέγειν δύνασθαι ;

Σὺ δ' ὦρ, ἔφη, χρῆναι σιωπῇ ἵππαρχεῖν ; ἢ οὐκ ἐντεθύμησαι, ὅτι ὅσα τε νόμῳ μεμαθήκαμεν κάλλιστα ὄντα, δι' ὧν γε ζῆν ἐπιστάμεθα, ταῦτα πάντα διὰ λόγου ἐμάθομεν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο καλὸν μαρθάνει τις μάθημα, διὰ λόγου μαρθάνει καὶ οἱ ἄριστα διδάσκοντες μάλιστα λόγῳ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ τὰ σπουδαιότατα μάλιστα ἐπιστάμενοι κάλ-

"True, but what is the best way of encouraging them to obey, Socrates?"

"Well, I suppose you know that under all conditions human beings are most willing to obey those whom they believe to be the best.¹ Thus in sickness they most readily obey the doctor, on board ship the pilot, on a farm the farmer, whom they think to be most skilled in his business."

"Yes, certainly."

"Then it is likely that in horsemanship too, one who clearly knows best what ought to be done will most easily gain the obedience of the others."

"If then, Socrates, I am plainly the best horseman among them, will that suffice to gain their obedience?"

"Yes, if you also show them that it will be safer and more honourable for them to obey you."

"How, then, shall I show that?"

"Well, it's far easier than if you had to show them that bad is better than good and more profitable."

"Do you mean that in addition to his other duties a cavalry leader must take care to be a good speaker?"

"Did you suppose that a commander of cavalry should be mum? Did you never reflect that all the best we learned according to custom—the learning, I mean, that teaches us how to live—we learned by means of words, and that every other good lesson to be learned is learned by means of words; that the best teachers rely most on the spoken word and those with the deepest knowledge of the greatest

¹ *Cyropaedia*, III. i. 20.

12 λιστα διαλέγονται ; ἡ τόδε οὐκ ἐντεθύμησαι, ὥς ὅταν γε χορὸς εἰς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γίγνηται, ὥσπερ ὁ εἰς Δῆλον πεμπόμενος, οὐδεὶς ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν τούτῳ ἐφάμιλλος γίγνεται οὐδὲ εὐανδρία ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ὁμοία τῇ ἐνθάδε συνάγεται ;

Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε εὐφωνία τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε σωμάτων μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ ὅσον φιλοτιμία, ἥπερ μάλιστα παροξύνει πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔντιμα.

Ἀληθές, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο.

14 Οὐκοῦν οἶει, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ τοῦ ἐνθάδε εἶ τις ἐπιμεληθείη, πολὺ ἂν καὶ τούτῳ διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων παρασκευῇ καὶ εὐταξία καὶ τῷ ἐτοίμως κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ νομίσειαν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι ;

Εἰκός γε, ἔφη.

15 Μὴ τοίνυν ὄκνει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ πειρῶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέπειν, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτός τε ὠφελήσῃ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται διὰ σέ.

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία πειράσομαι, ἔφη.

IV. Ἰδὼν δέ ποτε Νικομαχίδην ἐξ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀπιόντα ἤρετο· Τίνες, ὦ Νικομαχίδη, στρατηγοὶ ἤρηνται ;

Καὶ ὅς, Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν οὐχ εἴλοντο, ὃς ἐκ καταλόγου στρατευόμενος κατατέτριμμαι καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τραύματα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοσαῦτα ἔχω· ἅμα δὲ τὰς οὐλὰς τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπογυμνούμενος ἐπεδείκνυνεν· Ἀντισθένην δέ, ἔφη, εἴλοντο, τὸν οὔτε ὀπλίτην πω

subjects are the best talkers? Did you never reflect 12
that, whenever one chorus is selected from the
citizens of this state—for instance, the chorus that
is sent to Delos—no choir from any other place can
compare with it, and no state can collect so goodly
a company?”

“True.”

“And yet the reason is that Athenians excel all 13
others not so much in singing or in stature or in
strength, as in love of honour, which is the strongest
incentive to deeds of honour and renown.”

“True again.”

“Then don’t you think that if one took the same 14
pains with our cavalry, they too would greatly excel
others in arms and horses and discipline and readi-
ness to face the enemy, if they thought that they
would win glory and honour by it?”

“I expect so.”

“Don’t hesitate then, but try to encourage this 15
keenness among the men: both you and your fellow-
citizens will benefit by the results of your efforts.”

“Most certainly I will try.”

IV. Once on seeing Nicomachides returning from
the elections, he asked, “Who have been chosen
generals, Nicomachides?”

“Isn’t it like the Athenians?” replied he; “they
haven’t chosen me after all the hard work I have
done, since I was called up, in the command of
company or regiment, though I have been so often
wounded in action” (and here he uncovered and
showed his scars); “yet they have chosen Antis-
thenes, who has never served in a marching regiment

στρατευσάμενον ἔν τε τοῖς ἵππευσιν οὐδὲν
περίβλεπτον ποιήσαντα ἐπιστάμενόν τε ἄλλο
οὐδὲν ἢ χρήματα συλλέγειν ;

- 2 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦτο μὲν ἀγαθόν,
εἴ γε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἱκανὸς ἔσται τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
πορίζειν ;

Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔμποροι, ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης,
χρήματα συλλέγειν ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνεκα
τούτου καὶ στρατηγεῖν δύναιντ' ἄν.

- 3 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόνικος
Ἀντισθένης ἐστίν, ὃ στρατηγῶ προσεῖναι ἐπι-
τήδειόν ἐστιν· οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ ὁσάκις κεχο-
ρήγηκε, πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖς νενίκηκε ;

Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίον
ἐστι χοροῦ τε καὶ στρατεύματος προεστάναι.

- 4 Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ ὥδῃς γε ὁ
Ἀντισθένης οὐδὲ χορῶν διδασκαλίας ἔμπειρος
ὦν ὅμως ἐγένετο ἱκανὸς εὐρεῖν τοὺς κρατίστους
ταῦτα.

Καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης,
ἄλλους μὲν εὐρήσει τοὺς τάξοντας ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ,
ἄλλους δὲ τοὺς μαχουμένους.

- 5 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἴαν γε καὶ ἐν τοῖς
πολεμικοῖς τοὺς κρατίστους, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
χορικοῖς, ἐξευρίσκη τε καὶ προαιρῇται, εἰκότως
ἂν καὶ τούτου νικηφόρος εἴη· καὶ δαπανᾷ δ'
αὐτὸν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἂν ἐθέλῃν εἰς τὴν σὺν ὅλῃ
τῇ πόλει τῶν πολεμικῶν νίκην ἢ εἰς τὴν σὺν τῇ
φυλῇ τῶν χορικῶν.

- 6 Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ
ἀνδρός ἐστι χορηγεῖν τε καλῶς καὶ στρατηγεῖν ;

Λέγω ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ὡς ὅτου ἂν τις προστατεύῃ,

nor distinguished himself in the cavalry and understands nothing but money-making."

"Isn't that a recommendation," said Socrates, 2
"supposing he proves capable of supplying the men's needs?"

"Why," retorted Nicomachides, "merchants too are capable of making money, but that doesn't make them fit to command an army."

"But," cried Socrates, "Antisthenes also is eager 3
for victory, and that is a good point in a general.¹ Whenever he has been choragus, you know, his choir has always won."

"No doubt," said Nicomachides, "but there is no analogy between the handling of a choir and of an army."

"But, you see," said Socrates, "though Antis- 4
thenes knows nothing about music or choir training, he showed himself capable of finding the best experts in these."

"In the army too, then," said Nicomachides, "he will find others to command for him, and others to do the fighting."

"And therefore," said Socrates, "if he finds out 5
and prefers the best men in warfare as in choir training it is likely that he will be victorious in that too; and probably he will be more ready to spend on winning a battle with the whole state than on winning a choral competition with his tribe."

"Do you mean to say, Socrates, that the man 6
who succeeds with a chorus will also succeed with an army?"

"I mean that, whatever a man controls, if he

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 18.

ἐὰν γιγνώσκη τε ὧν δεῖ καὶ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι
δύνηται, ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἴη προστάτης, εἴτε χοροῦ
εἴτε οἴκου εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε στρατεύματος προ-
στατεύοι.

- 7 Καὶ ὁ Νικομαχίδης. Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,
οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὥμην ἐγὼ σου ἀκοῦσαι, ὥς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ
οἰκονόμοι ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ἂν εἶεν.

Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη, ἐξετάσωμεν τὰ ἔργα ἐκατέρου
αὐτῶν, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, πότερον τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἢ
διαφέρει τι.

Πάνυ γε, ἔφη.

- 8 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκόους
τε καὶ εὐπειθεῖς ἑαυτοῖς παρασκευάζειν ἀμφοτέρων
ἐστὶν ἔργον ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Τί δέ ; τὸ προστάττειν ἕκαστα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν
πράττειν ;

Καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς
ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν ἀμφοτέροις οἶμαι προσήκειν.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

- 9 Τὸ δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐμενεῖς ποιεῖσθαι πῶς
οὐ καλὸν ἀμφοτέροις ;

Καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη.

Συμμάχους δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς προσάγεσθαι δοκεῖ
σοι συμφέρειν ἀμφοτέροις ἢ οὐ ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Ἀλλὰ φυλακτικούς τῶν ὄντων οὐκ ἀμφοτέρους
εἶναι προσήκει ;

Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ φιλοπόνους ἀμφο-
τέρους εἶναι προσήκει περὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ;

knows what he wants and can get it he will be a good controller, whether he control a chorus, an estate, a city or an army."

"Really, Socrates," cried Nicomachides, "I should 7 never have thought to hear you say that a good business man would make a good general."

"Come then, let us review the duties of each that we may know whether they are the same or different."

"By all means."

"Is it not the duty of both to make their sub- 8 ordinates willing and obedient?"

"Decidedly."

"And to put the right man in the right place?"¹

"That is so."

"I suppose, moreover, that both should punish the bad and reward the good."

"Yes, certainly."

"Of course both will do well to win the goodwill 9 of those under them?"

"That is so."

"Do you think that it is to the interest of both to attract allies and helpers?"

"Yes, certainly."

"And should not both be able to keep what they have got?"

"They should indeed."

"And should not both be strenuous and industrious in their own work?"²

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 20.

² *Ibid.*, 8.

10 Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, πάντα ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐκέτι ἀμφοτέρων.

Ἄλλ' ἐχθροί γέ τοι ἀμφοτέροις γίνονται ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε.

Οὐκοῦν τὸ περιγενέσθαι τούτων ἀμφοτέροις συμφέρει ;

11 Πάνν γ', ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο παρίης, ἂν δέη μάχεσθαι, τί ὠφελήσῃ ἢ οἰκονομική ;

Ἐνταῦθα δῆπου καὶ πλείστον, ἔφη· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς οἰκονόμος, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτω λυσιτελές τε καὶ κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ὥς τὸ μαχόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους νικᾶν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀλυσιτελές τε καὶ ζημιῶδες ὥς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι, προθύμως μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν συμφέροντα ζητήσῃ καὶ παρασκευάζεται, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι φέροντα σκέψεται καὶ φυλάσσεται, ἐνεργῶς δ', ἂν τὴν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾷ νικητικὴν οὔσαν, μαχεῖται, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τούτων, εἴαν ἀπαράσκευος ᾖ, φυλάσσεται

12 συνάπτειν μάχην. μὴ καταφρόνει, ἔφη, ὦ Νικομαχίδη, τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ γὰρ τῶν ιδίων ἐπιμέλεια πλήθει μόνον διαφέρει τῆς τῶν κοινῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραπλήσια ἔχει, τὸ <δὲ>¹ μέγιστον, ὅτι οὔτε ἄνευ ἀνθρώπων οὐδετέρα γίγνεται οὔτε δι' ἄλλων μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἴδια πράττεται, δι' ἄλλων δὲ τὰ κοινά· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι χρῶνται ἢ οἷσπερ οἱ τὰ ἴδια οἰκονομοῦντες· οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καλῶς πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθι πλημμελοῦσι.

V. Περικλεῖ δέ ποτε τῷ τοῦ πάνν Περικλέους νίῳ διαλεγόμενος, Ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Περικλεῖς,

"All these are common to both; but fighting 10
is not."

"But surely both are bound to find enemies?"

"Oh yes, they are."

"Then is it not important for both to get the
better of them?"

"Undoubtedly; but you don't say how business 11
capacity will help when it comes to fighting."

"That is just where it will be most helpful. For
the good business man, through his knowledge that
nothing profits or pays like a victory in the field,
and nothing is so utterly unprofitable and entails
such heavy loss as a defeat, will be eager to seek
and furnish all aids to victory, careful to consider
and avoid what leads to defeat, prompt to engage
the enemy if he sees he is strong enough to win,
and, above all, will avoid an engagement when
he is not ready. Don't look down on business men, 12
Nicomachides. For the management of private
concerns differs only in point of number from that
of public affairs. In other respects they are much
alike, and particularly in this, that neither can be
carried on without men, and the men employed in
private and public transactions are the same. For
those who take charge of public affairs employ just
the same men when they attend to their own; and
those who understand how to employ them are
successful directors of public and private concerns,
and those who do not, fail in both."

V. Once when talking with the son of the great
Pericles, he said: "For my part, Pericles, I feel

¹ δὲ added by Castalio: Sauppe omits.

ἐλπίδα ἔχω σοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἀμείνω τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔσεσθαι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσειν.

Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Βουλοίμην ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἃ λέγεις· ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι.

Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, διαλογιζόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶμεν, ὅπου ἥδη τὸ δυνατόν ἐστι ;

Βούλομαι, ἔφη.

2 Οὐκοῦν οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι πλήθει μὲν οὐδὲν μείους εἰσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτῶν ;

Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφη.

Σώματα δὲ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ πότερον ἐκ Βοιωτῶν οἶει πλείω ἂν ἐκλεχθῆναι ἢ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ;

Οὐδὲ ταύτη μοι δοκοῦσι λείπεσθαι.

Εὐμενεστέρους δὲ ποτέρους ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι νομίζεις ;

Ἀθηναίους ἔγωγε· Βοιωτῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων δυσμενῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν, Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐδὲν ὁρῶ τοιοῦτον.

3 Ἀλλὰ μὴν φιλοτιμότητοί γε καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατοι πάντων εἰσὶν· ἅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα παροξύνει κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας τε καὶ πατρίδος.

Οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις Ἀθηναῖοι μεμπτοί.

Καὶ μὴν προγόνων γε καλὰ ἔργα οὐκ ἔστιν οἷς μείζω καὶ πλείω ὑπάρχει ἢ Ἀθηναίοις· ὧ πολλοὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι προτρέπονταί τε ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἄλκιμοι γίγνεσθαι.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγεις πάντα, ὦ Σώκρατες·

hopeful that, now you have become general, our city will be more efficient and more famous in the art of war, and will defeat our enemies."

"I could wish," answered Pericles, "that it might be as you say, Socrates; but how these changes are to come about I cannot see."

"Should you like to discuss them with me, then," said Socrates, "and consider how they can be brought about?"

"I should."

"Do you know then, that in point of numbers the 2 Athenians are not inferior to the Boeotians?"

"Yes, I know."

"Do you think that the larger number of fine, well-developed men could be selected from among the Boeotians or the Athenians?"

"In that matter too they seem to be at no disadvantage."

"Which do you think are the more united?"

"The Athenians, I should say, for many of the Boeotians resent the selfish behaviour of the Thebans. At Athens I see nothing of that sort."

"And again, the Athenians are more ambitious 3 and more high-minded than other peoples; and these qualities are among the strongest incentives to heroism and patriotic self-sacrifice."

"Yes, in these respects too the Athenians need not fear criticism."

"And besides, none have inherited a past more crowded with great deeds; and many are heartened by such a heritage and encouraged to care for virtue and prove their gallantry."

"All you have said is true, Socrates. But, you 4

ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς, ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ ἢ τε σὺν Τολμίδῃ τῶν
χιλίων ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ συμφορὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ μεθ'
Ἱπποκράτους ἐπὶ Δηλῷ, ἐκ τούτων τεταπείνωται
μὲν ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δόξα πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτούς,
ἐπῆρται δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οἱ πρόσθεν οὐδ' ἐν
τῇ ἑαυτῶν τολμῶντες Ἀθηναίοις ἄνευ Λακε-
δαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων
ἀντιτάττεσθαι νῦν ἀπειλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ
πρότερον¹ πορθοῦντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν φοβοῦνται,
μὴ Βοιωτοὶ δηώσωσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

- 5 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἀλλ' αἰσθάνομαι μὲν, ἔφη,
ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα· δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ
ἄρχοντι νῦν εὐαρεστοτέρως διακεῖσθαι ἢ πόλις.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ θάρρος ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ῥαθυμίαν καὶ
ἀπείθειαν ἐμβάλλει, ὁ δὲ φόβος προσεκτικωτέρους
τε καὶ εὐπειθεστέρους καὶ εὐτακτοτέρους ποιεῖ.
6 τεκμήριο δ' ἂν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
ναυσίν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ δήπου μηδὲν φοβῶνται,
μεστοὶ εἰσιν ἀταξίας, ἔστ' ἂν δὲ ἡ χειμῶνα ἢ
πολεμίους δείσωσιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ κελευόμενα
πάντα ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιγῶσι караδοκοῦντες
τὰ προσταχθησόμενα, ὥσπερ χορευταί.

- 7 Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Περικλῆς, εἴ γε νῦν μάλιστα
πείθονται, ὥρα ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς
προτρεψαίμεθα πάλιν ἀνερασθῆναι τῆς ἀρχαίας
ἀρετῆς τε καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

- 8 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ μὲν ἐβουλόμεθα
χρημάτων αὐτοὺς ὧν οἱ ἄλλοι εἶχον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι,

¹ Sauppe adds with the MSS., ὅτε Βοιωτοὶ μόνοι ἐγένοντο
which was removed by Cobet.

see, since the disasters sustained by Tolmides and the Thousand at Lebadea¹ and by Hippocrates at Delium,² the relations of the Athenians and Boeotians are changed: the glory of the Athenians is brought low, the pride of the Thebans is exalted; and now the Boeotians, who formerly would not venture, even in their own country, to face the Athenians without help from Sparta and the rest of the Peloponnese, threaten to invade Attica by themselves, and the Athenians, who formerly overran Boeotia, fear that the Boeotians may plunder Attica."

"Ah, I am aware of that," answered Socrates; 5
 "but the disposition of our city is now more to a good ruler's liking. For confidence breeds carelessness, slackness, disobedience: fear makes men more attentive, more obedient, more amenable to discipline. The behaviour of sailors is a case in point. So long 6
 as they have nothing to fear, they are, I believe, an unruly lot, but when they expect a storm or an attack, they not only carry out all orders, but watch in silence for the word of command like choristers."

"Well," exclaimed Pericles, "if they are now in 7
 the mood for obedience, it seems time to say how we can revive in them a longing for the old virtue and fame and happiness."

"If then," said Socrates, "we wanted them to 8
 claim money that others held, the best way of egging

¹ At the battle of Coronea (or Lebadea) in 446 B.C., the Boeotians defeated and destroyed the Athenian army and gained independence (Thucydides, i. 113).

² The Athenians were heavily defeated by the Boeotians at Delium in 424 B.C. (*Ibid.*, iv. 96 f.).

ἀποδεικνύντες αὐτοῖς ταῦτα πατρῷά τε ὄντα καὶ προσήκοντα μάλιστ' ἂν οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐξορμῶμεν ἀντέχεσθαι τούτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μετ' ἀρετῆς πρωτεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα, τοῦτ' αὖ δεικτέον ἐκ παλαιοῦ μάλιστα προσῆκον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς τούτου ἐπιμελούμενοι πάντων ἂν εἶεν κράτιστοι.

9 Πῶς οὖν ἂν τοῦτο διδάσκοιμεν ;

Οἶμαι μὲν, εἰ τοὺς γε παλαιοτάτους ὧν ἀκούομεν προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀναμιμνήσκουμεν αὐτοὺς ἀκηκοότας ἀρίστους γεγονέναι.

10 ἼΑρα λέγεις τὴν τῶν θεῶν κρίσιν, ἣν οἱ περὶ Κέκροπα δι' ἀρετὴν ἔκριναν ;

Λέγω γάρ, καὶ τὴν Ἑρεχθέως γε τροφὴν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡπείρου πάσης καὶ τὸν ἐφ' Ἑρακλειδῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θησέως πολεμηθέντας, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνοι δῆλοι γεγόνασι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἀριστεύσαντες· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἂ ὕστερον οἱ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπόγονοι, οὐ πολὺ δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ἔπραξαν, τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κυριεύοντας τῆς τε Ἀσίας πάσης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ πλείστην τῶν προγεγονότων δύναμιν καὶ ἀφορμὴν κεκτημένους καὶ μέγιστα ἔργα κατειργασμένους, τὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀριστεύοντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· οἱ δὲ καὶ λέγονται πολὺ διενεγκεῖν τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπων.

¹ i.e. between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Attica.

them on to seize it would be to show them that it was their fathers' money and belongs to them. As we want them to strive for pre-eminence in virtue, we must show that this belonged to them in old days, and that by striving for it they will surpass all other men."

"How then can we teach this?"

9

"I think by reminding them that their earliest ancestors of whom we have any account were, as they themselves have been told, the most valiant."

"Do you refer to the judgment of the gods,¹ which Cecrops delivered in his court because of his virtue?"

"Yes, and the care and birth of Erectheus,² and the war waged in his day with all the adjacent country, and the war between the sons of Heracles³ and the Peloponnesians, and all the wars waged in the days of Theseus,⁴ in all of which it is manifest that they were champions among the men of their time. You may add the victories of their descendants,⁵ who lived not long before our own day: some they gained unaided in their struggle with the lords of all Asia and of Europe as far as Macedonia, the owners of more power and wealth than the world had ever seen, who had wrought deeds that none had equalled; in others they were fellow-champions with the Peloponnesians both on land and sea. These men, like their fathers, are reported to have been far superior to all other men of their time."

¹ *Iliad*, II. 547. Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος οὐ ποτ' Ἀθήνη θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα.

² The Athenians claimed that it was through their assistance that the sons of Heracles gained the victory (Herodotus, ix. 27). ⁴ Against the Amazons and Thracians.

⁵ In the great Persian wars.

Λέγονται γάρ, ἔφη.

12 Τοιγαροῦν πολλῶν μὲν μεταναστάσεων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γεγονυῶν διέμειναν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ δικαίων ἀντιλέγοντες ἐπέτρεπον ἐκείνοις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ κρειττόνων ὑβριζόμενοι κατέφευγον πρὸς ἐκείνους.

13 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Καὶ θαυμάζω γ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ πόλις ὅπως ποτ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἔκλινεν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οἶμαι, ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀθληταί τινες διὰ τὸ πολὺ ὑπερενεγκεῖν καὶ κρατιστεῦσαι καταρραθυμήσαντες ὑστερίζουσι τῶν ἀντιπάλων, οὕτω καὶ Ἀθηναίους πολὺ διενεγκόντας ἀμελῆσαι ἑαυτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χείρους γεγονέναι.

14 Νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, τί ἂν ποιοῦντες ἀναλάβοιεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετὴν;

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὐδὲν ἀπόκρυφον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐξευρόντες τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιτηδεύματα μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύοιεν, οὐδὲν ἂν χείρους ἐκείνων γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς γε νῦν πρωτεύοντας μιμούμενοι καὶ τούτοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ἂν χείρους ἐκείνων εἶεν, εἰ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον, καὶ βελτίους.

15 Λέγεις, ἔφη, πόρρω που εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν. πότε γὰρ οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ πρεσβυτέρους αἰδέσονται, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἄρχονται καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεραιτέρων, ἢ σωμασκήσουσιν οὕτως, οἱ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ εὐεξίας ἀμελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελο-
16 μένων καταγελῶσι; πότε δὲ οὕτω πείσονται τοῖς

"Yes, that is the report of them."

"Therefore, though there have been many migra- 12
tions in Greece, these continued to dwell in their
own land: many referred to them their rival claims,
many found a refuge with them from the brutality
of the oppressor."

"Yes, Socrates," cried Pericles, "and I wonder 13
how our city can have become so degenerate."

"My own view," replied Socrates, "is that the
Athenians, as a consequence of their great superiority,
grew careless of themselves, and have thus become
degenerate, much as athletes who are in a class by
themselves and win the championship easily are apt
to grow slack and drop below their rivals.

"How, then, can they now recover their old 14
virtue?"

"There is no mystery about it, as I think. If
they find out the customs of their ancestors and
practise them as well as they did, they will come to
be as good as they were; or failing that, they need
but to imitate those who now have the pre-eminence
and to practise their customs, and if they are equally
careful in observing them, they will be as good as
they, and, if more careful, even better."

"That means that it is a long march for our city 15
to perfection. For when will Athenians show the
Lacedaemonian reverence for age, seeing that they
despise all their elders, beginning with their own
fathers? When will they adopt the Lacedaemonian
system of training, seeing that they not only
neglect to make themselves fit, but mock at those
who take the trouble to do so? When will they 16

- ἄρχουσιν, οἳ καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἣ πότε οὕτως ὁμονήσουσιν, οἳ γε ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ συνεργεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα ἐπηρεάζουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ φθονοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐν τε ταῖς ἰδίαις συνόδοις καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς διαφέρονται καὶ πλείστας δίκας ἀλλήλοις δικάζονται καὶ προαιροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω κερδαίνειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ κοινοῖς ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίοις χρώμενοι περὶ τούτων αὐτὸ μάχονται καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυνάμεσι
- 17 μάλιστα χαίρουσιν; ἐξ ὧν πολλὴ μὲν ἀτηρία καὶ κακία τῇ πόλει ἐμφύεται, πολλὴ δὲ ἔχθρα καὶ μῖσος ἀλλήλων τοῖς πολίταις ἐγγίγνεται, δι' ἃ ἔγωγε μάλα φοβοῦμαι ἀεὶ, μή τι μεῖζον ἢ ὥστε φέρειν δύνασθαι κακὸν τῇ πόλει συμβῇ.
- 18 Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Περικλείς, οὕτως ἡγοῦ ἀνηκέστῳ πονηρίᾳ νοσεῖν Ἀθηναίους. οὐχ ὀρᾷς, ὥς εὐτάκτοι μὲν εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, εὐτάκτως δ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι πείθονται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδεέστερον ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις;
- 19 Τοῦτο γάρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστι, τὸ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεις, οἳ δοκοῦσι καλοκάγαθία προκεκρίσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπειθεστάτους εἶναι πάντων.
- 20 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή, ὦ Περικλείς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων καθίσταται;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Οἶσθα οὖν τινος, ἔφη, κάλλιον ἢ νομιμώτερον

reach that standard of obedience to their rulers, seeing that they make contempt of rulers a point of honour? Or when will they attain that harmony, seeing that, instead of working together for the general good,¹ they are more envious and bitter against one another than against the rest of the world, are the most quarrelsome of men in public and private assemblies, most often go to law with one another, and would rather make profit of one another so than by mutual service, and while regarding public affairs as alien to themselves, yet fight over them too, and find their chief enjoyment in having the means to carry on such strife? So 17 it comes about that mischief and evil grow apace in the city, enmity and mutual hatred spring up among the people, so that I am always dreading that some evil past bearing may befall the city."

"No, no, Pericles, don't think the wickedness of 18 the Athenians so utterly past remedy. Don't you see what good discipline they maintain in their fleets, how well they obey the umpires in athletic contests, how they take orders from the choir-trainers as readily as any?"

"Ah yes, and strange indeed it is that such men 19 submit themselves to their masters, and yet the infantry and cavalry, who are supposed to be the pick of the citizens for good character, are the most insubordinate."

Then Socrates asked, "But what of the Court of 20 the Areopagus, Pericles? Are not its members persons who have won approval?"

"Certainly."

"Then do you know of any who decide the cases

¹ *Cyropaedia*, VIII. i. 2.

ἢ σεμνότερον ἢ δικαιότερον τὰς τε δίκας δικάζοντας καὶ τὰλλα πάντα πράττοντας ;

Οὐ μέμφομαι, ἔφη, τούτοις.

Οὐ τοίνυν, ἔφη, δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν ὥς οὐκ εὐτάκτων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων.

- 21 Καὶ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, ἔφη, ἔνθα μάλιστα δεῖ σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ εὐτακτεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν, οὐδενὶ τούτων προσέχουσιν.

Ἴσως γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν τούτοις οἱ ἥκιστα ἐπιστάμενοι ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι κιθαριστῶν μὲν καὶ χορευτῶν καὶ ὀρχηστῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπιχειρεῖ ἄρχειν μὴ ἐπιστάμενος οὐδὲ παλαιστῶν οὐδὲ παγκρατιαστῶν ; ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ τούτων ἄρχοντες ἔχουσι δεῖξαι, ὁπόθεν ἔμαθον ταῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐφεστᾶσι· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οἱ πλείστοι

- 22 αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν. οὐ μέντοι σέ γε τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ νομίζω εἶναι, ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε οὐδὲν ἡττον ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, ὁπότε στρατηγεῖν ἢ ὁπότε παλαίειν ἤρξωμανθάνειν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶμαί σε τῶν πατρώων στρατηγημάτων παρειληφότα διασώζειν, πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν συνηχέναι, ὁπόθεν οἶόν τε ἦν
- 23 μαθεῖν τι ὠφέλιμον εἰς στρατηγίαν. οἶμαι δέ σε πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν, ὅπως μὴ λάθῃς σεαυτὸν ἀγνοῶν τι τῶν εἰς στρατηγίαν ὠφελίμων, καὶ εἴαν τι τοιοῦτον αἴσθῃ σεαυτὸν μὴ εἰδότα, ζητεῖν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ταῦτα, οὔτε δώρων οὔτε χαρίτων φειδόμενον, ὅπως μάθῃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ ἐπίστασαι καὶ συνεργοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἔχῃς.

- 24 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Οὐ λανθάνεις με, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδ' οἰόμενός με τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ταῦτα λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρῶν με διδάσκειν, ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα στρατηγεῖν τούτων ἀπάντων

that come before them and perform all their other functions more honourably, more in accordance with law, with more dignity and justice? ”

“ I am not finding fault with the Areopagus.”

“ Then you must not despair of Athenian discipline.”

“ But, you see, in the army, where good conduct, 21 discipline, submission are most necessary, our people pay no attention to these things.”

“ This may be due to the incompetence of the officers. You must have noticed that no one attempts to exercise authority over our harpists, choristers and dancers, if he is incompetent, nor over wrestlers or wrestlers who also box? All who have authority over them can tell where they learned their business; but most of our generals are improvisors. However, I don't suppose you are one 22 of this sort. I suppose you can say when you began to learn strategy as well as when you began wrestling. Many of the principles, I think, you have inherited from your father, and many others you have gathered from every source from which you could learn anything useful to a general. I think, too, that you 23 take much trouble that you may not unconsciously lack any knowledge useful to a general; and if you find that you don't know anything, you seek out those who have the knowledge, grudging neither gifts nor thanks, that you may learn what you don't know from them and may have the help of good coaching.”

“ I can see, Socrates, that in saying this you don't 24 really think I study these things, but you are trying to show me that one who is going to command an

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. ὁμολογῶ μέντοι καὶ γὰρ σοι ταῦτα.

- 25 Τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, ὦ Περικλείς, κατανενόηκας, ὅτι κρόκεται τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν ὄρη μεγάλα, καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἴσοδοι στεναί τε καὶ προσάντεις εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅτι μέση διέζωσται ὄρεσιν ἐρυμνοῖς ;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

- 26 Τί δέ ; ἐκείνο ἀκήκοας, ὅτι Μυσοὶ καὶ Πισίδαι ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρα κατέχοντες ἐρυμνὰ πάνυ χωρία καὶ κούφως ὥπλισμένοι δύνανται πολλὰ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν καταθέοντες κακοποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ζῆν ἐλεύθεροι ;

- 27 Καὶ τοῦτό γ', ἔφη, ἀκούω.

Ἀθηναίους δ' οὐκ ἂν οἶει, ἔφη, μέχρι τῆς ἐλαφρᾶς ἡλικίας ὥπλισμένους κουφοτέροις ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ προκείμενα τῆς χώρας ὄρη κατέχοντας βλαβεροὺς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι, μεγάλην δὲ προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατεσκευάσθαι ;

Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Πάντ' οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ταῦτα χρήσιμα εἶναι.

- 28 Εἰ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀρέσκει σοι ταῦτα, ἐπιχείρει αὐτοῖς, ὦ ἄριστε· ὅ, τι μὲν γὰρ ἂν τούτων καταπράξης, καὶ σοὶ καλὸν ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν· ἐὰν δέ τι αὐτῶν ἀδυνατῆς, οὔτε τὴν πόλιν βλάβεις οὔτε σαυτὸν καταισχυνεῖς.

VI. Γλαῦκωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, ὅτ' ἐπεχείρει δημηγορεῖν, ἐπιθυμῶν προστατεύειν τῆς πόλεως οὐδέπω εἵκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς, τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο παῦσαι ἐλκόμενόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ καταγέλαστον

army must study all of them ; and of course I admit that you are right."

"Have you observed, Pericles, that our frontier is 25 protected by great mountains extending to Boeotia, through which there are steep and narrow passes leading into our land, and that the interior is cut across by rugged mountains?"

"Certainly."

"Further, have you heard that the Mysians and 26 Pisidians, occupying very rugged country in the Great King's territory and lightly armed, contrive to overrun and damage the King's territory and to preserve their own freedom?"¹

"Yes, I have heard so."

"And don't you think that active young Athenians, 27 more lightly armed and occupying the mountains that protect our country, would prove a thorn in the side of the enemy and a strong bulwark of defence to our people?"

"Socrates," replied Pericles, "I think all these suggestions too have a practical value."

"Then, since you like them, adopt them, my 28 good fellow. Any part of them that you carry out will bring honour to you and good to the state ; and should you fail in part, you will neither harm the state nor disgrace yourself."

VI. Ariston's son, Glaucon, was attempting to become an orator and striving for headship in the state, though he was less than twenty years old ; and none of his friends or relations could check him, though he would get himself dragged from the platform and make himself a laughing-stock. Only

¹ *Anabasis*, II. v. 13.

much of everything as we have; and yet you may order any sort of servant to buy something in the market and to bring it home, and he will be at no loss: every one of them is bound to know where he should go to get each article. Now the only reason for this is that everything is kept in a fixed place. But when you are searching for a person, you often 23 fail to find him, though he may be searching for you himself. And for this again the one reason is that no place of meeting has been fixed."

"Such is the gist of the conversation I think I remember having with her about the arrangement of utensils and their use."

IX. "And what was the result?' I asked; 'did you think, Ischomachus, that your wife paid any heed to the lessons you tried so earnestly to teach her?'

"Why, she promised to attend to them, and was evidently pleased beyond measure to feel that she had found a solution of her difficulties, and she begged me to lose no time in arranging things as I had suggested.'

"And how did you arrange things for her, Ischo- 2 machus?' I asked.

"Why, I decided first to show her the possibilities of our house. For it contains few elaborate decorations, Socrates; but the rooms are designed simply with the object of providing as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to fill them, and thus each room invited just what was suited to it. Thus the store-room by the security of its 3 position called for the most valuable blankets and utensils, the dry covered rooms for the corn, the

δὲ ψυχρινὰ τὸν οἶνον, τὰ δὲ φανὰ ὅσα φάους
 4 δεόμενα ἔργα τε καὶ σκευὴ ἐστί. καὶ διαιτητήρια
 δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτῇ κεκαλ-
 λωπισμένα τοῦ μὲν θέρους ψυχρινά, τοῦ δὲ
 χειμῶνος ἀλεεινά. καὶ σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἐπέδειξα αὐτῇ ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται,
 ὥστε εὐδὴλον εἶναι, ὅτι χειμῶνος μὲν εὐήλιός
 5 ἐστί, τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐσκίος. ἔδειξα δὲ καὶ τὴν
 γυναικωνίτιν αὐτῇ, θύρα βαλανωτῇ ὠρισμένην
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος, ἵνα μήτε ἐκφέρηται ἔνδοθεν
 ὅ τι μὴ δεῖ μήτε τεκνοποιῶνται οἱ οἰκέται ἄνευ
 τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρηστοὶ
 παιδοποιησάμενοι εὐνούστεροι ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ,
 οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ συζυγέντες εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ
 κακουργεῖν γίγνονται.

6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διήλθομεν, ἔφη, οὕτω δὴ ἤδη κατὰ
 φυλὰς διεκρίνομεν τὰ ἔπιπλα. ἡρχόμεθα δὲ πρῶ-
 τον, ἔφη, ἀθροίζοντες οἷς ἀμφὶ θυσίας χρώμεθα.
 μετὰ ταῦτα κόσμον γυναικὸς τὸν εἰς ἑορτὰς
 διηροῦμεν, ἐσθῆτα ἀνδρὸς τὴν εἰς ἑορτὰς καὶ πόλε-
 μον καὶ στρώματα ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι, στρώματα ἐν
 ἀνδρωνίτιδι, ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα, ὑποδήματα
 7 ἀνδρεῖα. ὅπλων ἄλλη φυλή, ἄλλη ταλασιουργικῶν
 ὀργάνων, ἄλλη σιτοποιικῶν, ἄλλη ὀψοποιικῶν,
 ἄλλη τῶν ἀμφὶ λουτρόν, ἄλλη ἀμφὶ μάκτρας,
 ἄλλη ἀμφὶ τραπέζας. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διεχω-
 ρίσαμεν, οἷς τε αἰεὶ δεῖ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ θοινατικά.
 8 χωρὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ μῆνα δαπανώμενα
 ἀφείλομεν, δίχα δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπο-
 λελογισμένα κατέθεμεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἥττον λαυθάνει,
 ὅπως πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκβήσεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχωρίσα-
 μεν πάντα κατὰ φυλὰς τὰ ἔπιπλα, εἰς τὰς χώρας

cool for the wine, the well-lit for those works of art and vessels that need light. I showed her 4 decorated living-rooms for the family that are cool in summer and warm in winter.¹ I showed her that the whole house fronts south, so that it was obvious that it is sunny in winter and shady in summer. I 5 showed her the women's quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out, and that the servants may not breed without our leave. For honest servants generally prove more loyal if they have a family; but rogues, if they live in wedlock, become all the more prone to mischief.

“‘And now that we had completed the list, we 6 forthwith set about separating the furniture tribe by tribe. We began by collecting together the vessels we use in sacrificing. After that we put together the women's holiday finery, and the men's holiday and war garb, blankets in the women's, blankets in the men's quarters, women's shoes, men's shoes. Another tribe consisted of arms, and three 7 others of implements for spinning, for bread-making and for cooking; others, again, of the things required for washing, at the kneading-trough, and for table use. All these we divided into two sets, things in constant use and things reserved for festivities. We also put by themselves the things consumed 8 month by month, and set apart the supplies calculated to last for a year. For this plan makes it easier to tell how they will last to the end of the time. When we had divided all the portable property

¹ *Mem.* III. viii. 9.

- 9 τὰς προσηκούσας ἕκαστα διηνέγκομεν. μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτο ὅσοις μὲν τῶν σκευῶν καθ' ἡμέραν χρῶνται
οἱ οἰκέται, οἷον σιτοποικοῖς, ὀψοποικοῖς, ταλα-
σιουργικοῖς, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ταῦτα μὲν
αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρωμένοις δείξαντες ὅπου δεῖ τιθέναι
παρεδώκαμεν καὶ ἐπετάξαμεν σῶα παρέχειν·
10 ὅσοις δ' εἰς ἐορτὰς ἢ ξενοδοχίας χρώμεθα ἢ εἰς
τὰς διὰ χρόνου πράξεις, ταῦτα δὲ τῇ ταμίᾳ παρε-
δώκαμεν καὶ δείξαντες τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀπαριθμήσαντες καὶ γραψάμενοι ἕκαστα εἶπομεν
αὐτῇ διδόναι τούτων ὅτῳ δέοι ἕκαστον, καὶ
μεμνήσθαι ὅ τι ἂν τῷ διδῶ, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν
κατατιθέναι πάλιν ὅθεν περ ἂν ἕκαστα λαμβάνῃ.
11 Τὴν δὲ ταμίαν ἐποιοησάμεθα ἐπισκεψάμενοι,
ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐγκρατεστάτη καὶ γαστρὸς
καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀνδρῶν συνουσίας, πρὸς
τούτοις δὲ ἢ τὸ μνημονικὸν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἔχειν
καὶ τὸ προνοεῖν, μὴ τι κακὸν λάβῃ παρ' ἡμῶν
ἀμελοῦσα, καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως χαριζομένη τι ἡμῖν
12 ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀντιτιμῆσεται. ἐδιδάσκομεν δὲ αὐτὴν
καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτ' εὐφραινοίμεθα,
τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδιδόντες καὶ εἴ τι λυπηρὸν
εἴη, εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τὸ προ-
θυμεῖσθαι δὲ συναύξειν τὸν οἶκον ἐπαιδεύομεν
αὐτὴν ἐπιγιγνώσκειν αὐτὴν ποιοῦντες καὶ τῆς
13 εὐπραγίας αὐτῇ μεταδιδόντες. καὶ δικαιοσύνην
δ' αὐτῇ ἐνεποιούμεν τιμιωτέρους τιθέντες τοὺς
δικαίους τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοντες πλου-
σιώτερον καὶ ἐλευθεριώτερον βιοτεύοντας τῶν
ἀδίκων· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατετάτ-
τομεν.
14 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν εἶπον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,

tribe by tribe, we arranged everything in its proper place. After that we showed the servants who have 9 to use them where to keep the utensils they require daily, for baking, cooking, spinning and so forth; handed them over to their care and charged them to see that they were safe and sound. The 10 things that we use only for festivals or entertainments, or on rare occasions, we handed over to the housekeeper, and after showing her their places and counting and making a written list of all the items, we told her to give them out to the right servants, to remember what she gave to each of them, and when receiving them back to put everything in the place from which she took it.

“In appointing the housekeeper, we chose the 11 woman whom on consideration we judged to be the most temperate in eating and wine drinking and sleeping¹ and the most modest with men, the one, too, who seemed to have the best memory, to be most careful not to offend us by neglecting her duties, and to think most how she could earn some reward by obliging us. We also taught her to be loyal to us 12 by making her a partner in all our joys and calling on her to share our troubles. Moreover, we trained her to be eager for the improvement of our estate, by making her familiar with it and by allowing her to share in our success. And further, we put justice 13 into her, by giving more honour to the just than to the unjust, and by showing her that the just live in greater wealth and freedom than the unjust; and we placed her in that position of superiority.

“When all this was done, Socrates, I told my 14

¹ *Mem.* I. v. 1 ; *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 8.

- ἐγὼ τῇ γυναικί, ὅτι πάντων τούτων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ ἐπιμελήσεται, ὅπως διαμένῃ ἐκάστῳ ἢ τάξις. ἐδίδασκον δὲ αὐτήν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν οὐκ ἄρκεῖν δοκεῖ τοῖς πολίταις, ἣν νόμους καλοὺς γράφονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοφύλακας προσαιροῦνται, οἵτινες ἐπισκοποῦντες τὸν μὲν ποιοῦντα τὰ νόμιμα ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἣν δέ τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ποιῇ, ζημιοῦσι.
- 15 νομίσαι οὖν ἐκέλευον, ἔφη, τὴν γυναιῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν νομοφύλακα τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν δέ, ὅταν δόξη αὐτῇ, τὰ σκεύη, ὥσπερ ὁ φρούραρχος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐξετάζει, καὶ δοκιμάζειν, εἰ καλῶς ἕκαστον ἔχει, ὥσπερ ἡ βουλὴ ἵππους καὶ ἱππέας δοκιμάζει, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ βασιλίσσαν τὸν ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως καὶ λοιδορεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τὸν τούτων δεόμενον.
- 16 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐδίδασκον αὐτήν, ἔφη, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄχθοιτο δικαίως, εἰ πλείω αὐτῇ πράγματα προστάττω ἢ τοῖς οἰκέταις περὶ τὰ κτήματα, ἐπιδεικνύων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις μέτεστι τῶν δεσποσύνων χρημάτων τοσοῦτον, ὅσον φέρειν ἢ θεραπεύειν ἢ φυλάττειν, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἔξεστιν, ὅτῳ ἂν μὴ δῶ ὁ κύριος· δεσπότου δὲ ἅπαντά ἐστιν ὧ ἂν βούληται ἐκάστῳ¹ χρῆσθαι.
- 17 ὅτῳ οὖν καὶ σωζομένων μεγίστη ὄνησις καὶ φθειρομένων μεγίστη βλάβη, τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μάλιστα προσήκουσαν ἀπέβαινον.
- 18 Τί οὖν; ἔφην ἐγώ, ὧ Ἰσχόμαχε, ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνὴ πῶς σοι ὑπήκουε;

Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ εἶπέ γέ μοι, ὧ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκοιμι, εἰ οἰοίμην χαλεπὰ ἐπιτάττειν διδάσκων, ὅτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν

wife that all these measures were futile, unless she saw to it herself that our arrangement was strictly adhered to in every detail. I explained that in well-ordered cities the citizens are not satisfied with passing good laws: they go further, and choose guardians of the laws, who act as overseers, commending the law-abiding and punishing law-breakers. So I charged my wife to consider herself guardian of 15 the laws to our household. And just as the commander of a garrison inspects his guards, so must she inspect the chattels whenever she thought it well to do so; as the Council scrutinises the cavalry and the horses, so she was to make sure that everything was in good condition: like a queen, she must reward the worthy with praise and honour, so far as in her lay, and not spare rebuke and punishment when they were called for.

“Moreover, I taught her that she should not be 16 vexed that I assigned heavier duties to her than to the servants in respect of our possessions. Servants, I pointed out, carry, tend and guard their master's property, and only in this sense have a share in it; they have no right to use anything except by the owner's leave; but everything belongs to the master, to use it as he will. Therefore, I explained, he who 17 gains most by the preservation of the goods and loses most by their destruction, is the one who is bound to take most care of them.’

“Well, now, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘was your 18 wife inclined to pay heed to your words?’

“Why, Socrates,’ he cried, ‘she just told me that I was mistaken if I supposed that I was laying a hard task on her in telling her that she must take

¹ ἐκάστη Camerarius: ἑκάστα Sauppe with the MSS.

19 ὄντων. χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη φάναι, εἰ αὐτῇ ἐπέταττον ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ εἰ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεήσει τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν. πεφυκέναι γὰρ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὥσπερ καὶ τέκνων ῥᾶον τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κτημάτων, ὅσα ἴδια ὄντα εὐφραίνει, ἥδιον τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίζειν ἔφη εἶναι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν.

X. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῷ ταῦτα, εἶπον, Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀνδρικήν γε ἐπιδεικνύεις τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς γυναικός.

Καὶ ἄλλα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, θέλω σοι πάννυ μεγαλόφρονα αὐτῆς διηγήσασθαι, ἃ μου ἅπαξ ἀκούσασα ταχὺ ἐπεΐθετο.

Τὰ ποῖα ; ἔφην ἐγώ· λέγε· ὥς ἐμοὶ πολὺ ἥδιον ζώσης ἀρετὴν γυναικὸς καταμανθάνειν ἢ εἰ Ζεῦξις μοι καλὴν εἰκάσας γραφῇ γυναῖκα ἐπεδείκνυνεν.

2 Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐντετριμμένην πολλῷ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ, ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἔτι δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἦν, πολλῇ δ' ἐγχούσῃ, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσιν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει,

3 Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφην, ὦ γύναι, ποτέρως ἄν με κρίναις ἀξιοφίλητον μᾶλλον εἶναι χρημάτων κοινωνόν, εἴ σοι αὐτὰ τὰ ὄντα ἀποδεικνύοιμι καὶ μήτε κομπάζοιμι, ὥς πλείω ἔστι μοι τῶν ὄντων, μήτε ἀποκρυπτοίμην τι τῶν ὄντων μηδέν, ἢ εἰ ἐπειρώμην σε ἐξαπατᾶν λέγων τε, ὥς πλείω ἔστι μοι τῶν ὄντων, ἐπιδεικνύς τε ἀργύριον κίβδηλον καὶ

care of our things. It would have been harder, she said, had I required her to neglect her own possessions, than to have the duty of attending to her own peculiar blessings. The fact is,' he added, 19 'just as it naturally comes easier to a good woman to care for her own children than to neglect them, so, I imagine, a good woman finds it pleasanter to look after her own possessions than to neglect them.'"

X. "Now when I heard that his wife had given him this answer, I exclaimed; 'Upon my word, Ischomachus, your wife has a truly masculine mind by your showing!'

"'Yes,' said Ischomachus, 'and I am prepared to give you other examples of high-mindedness on her part, when a word from me was enough to secure her instant obedience.'

"'Tell me what they are,' I cried; 'for if Zeuxis showed me a fair woman's portrait painted by his own hand, it would not give me half the pleasure I derive from the contemplation of a living woman's virtues.'

"Thereupon Ischomachus took up his parable. 2 'Well, one day, Socrates, I noticed that her face was made up: she had rubbed in white lead in order to look even whiter than she is, and alkanet juice to heighten the rosy colour of her cheeks; and she was wearing boots with thick soles to increase her height. So I said to her, "Tell me, my 3 dear, how should I appear more worthy of your love as a partner in our goods, by disclosing to you our belongings just as they are, without boasting of imaginary possessions or concealing any part of what we have, or by trying to trick you with an exaggerated account, showing you bad money and

ὄρμους ὑποξύλους καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐξιτήλους φαίην ἀληθινὰς εἶναι ;

- 4 Καὶ ὑπολαβοῦσα εὐθύς, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη· μὴ γένοιο σὺ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγέ σε δυναίμην, εἰ τοιοῦτος εἴης, ἀσπάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, συνεληλύθαμεν, ὦ γύναι, ὥς καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κοινωνήσουντες ἀλλήλοις ;

Φασὶ γοῦν, ἔφη, οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

- 5 Ποτέρως ἂν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦ σώματος αὐτοκοίην εἶναι ἀξιοφίλητος μᾶλλον κοινωνός, εἴ σοι τὸ σῶμα πειρῶμην παρέχειν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος ὅπως ὑγιαῖνόν τε καὶ ἐρρωμένον ἔσται καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ ὄντι εὐχρως σοι ἔσομαι, ἢ εἴ σοι μίλτῳ ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπαλειφόμενος ἀνδρικήλῳ ἐπιδεικνύοιμί τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ συνείην ἐξαπατῶν σε καὶ παρέχων ὁρᾶν καὶ ἄπτεσθαι μίλτου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ χρωτός ;

- 6 Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ἐκείνη, οὐτ' ἂν μίλτου ἀπτοίμην ἥδιον ἢ σοῦ οὐτ' ἂν ἀνδρικήλου χρῶμα ἥδιον ὀρώην ἢ τὸ σὸν οὐτ' ἂν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπαληλιμμένους ἥδιον ὀρώην τοὺς σοὺς ἢ ὑγιαίνοντας.

- 7 Καὶ ἐμὲ τοίνυν νόμιζε, εἰπεῖν ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὦ γύναι, μήτε ψιμυθίου μήτε ἐγχούσης χρώματι ἠδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σῶ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν ἵπποις μὲν ἵππους, βουσί δὲ βούς ἠδιστον, προβάτοις δὲ πρόβατα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καθαρὸν οἶονται ἠδιστον εἶναι· αἱ δ' ἀπάται αὗται τοὺς μὲν ἔξω πῶς δύναιντ' ἂν ἀνεξελέγκτως ἐξαπατᾶν, συνόντας δὲ ἀεὶ ἀνάγκη ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἐξα-

gilt necklaces and describing clothes that will fade as real purple?"

"““Hush!" she broke in immediately, "pray 4 don't be like that—I could not love you with all my heart if you were like that!"

"““Then, are we not joined together by another bond of union, dear, to be partners in our bodies?"

"““The world says so, at any rate." 5

"““How then should I seem more worthy of your love in this partnership of the body—by striving to have my body hale and strong when I present it to you, and so literally to be of a good countenance in your sight, or by smearing my cheeks with red lead and painting myself under the eyes with rouge before I show myself to you and clasp you in my arms, cheating you and offering to your eyes and hands red lead instead of my real flesh?"

"““Oh," she cried, "I would sooner touch you 6 than red lead, would sooner see your own colour than rouge, would sooner see your eyes bright than smeared with grease."

"““Then please assume, my dear, that I do not 7 prefer white paint and dye of alkanet to your real colour; but just as the gods have made horses to delight in horses, cattle in cattle, sheep in sheep, so human beings find the human body undisguised most delightful. Tricks like these may serve to gull 8 outsiders, but people who live together are bound to be found out, if they try to deceive one another.

πατᾶν ἀλλήλους. ἢ γὰρ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀλίσκονται ἐξανιστάμενοι πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδρῶτος ἐλέγχονται ἢ ὑπὸ δακρύων βασανίζονται ἢ ὑπὸ λουτροῦ ἀληθινῶς κατωπτεύθησαν.

9 Τί οὖν πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ;

Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐπραγματεύσατο, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ πρεπόντως ἔχουσιν ἐπειρᾶτο ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδεικνύναι. καὶ ἐμὲ μέντοι ἡρώτα, εἴ τι ἔχοιμι συμβουλευσαι, ὥς ἂν τῷ ὄντι καλὴ φαίνοιτο, ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον

10 δοκοίη. καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ μὴ δουλικῶς αἰεὶ καθῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πειρᾶσθαι δεσποτικῶς πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἰστὸν προσσῆσαν ὅ τι μὲν βέλτιον ἄλλου ἐπίσταιτο ἐπιδιδάξαι, ὅ τι δὲ χεῖρον ἐπιμαθεῖν, ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν¹ σιτοποιόν, παραστήναι δὲ καὶ ἀπομετρούσῃ τῇ ταμίᾳ, περιελθεῖν δ' ἐπισκοπούμενην καὶ εἰ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει ἢν δεῖ ἕκαστα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδόκει μοι ἅμα ἐπιμέλεια

11 εἶναι καὶ περίπατος. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔφην εἶναι γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ δεῦσαι καὶ μάξαι καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα ἀνασεῖσαι καὶ συνθεῖναι. γυμναζομένην δὲ ἔφην οὕτως ἂν καὶ ἐσθίειν ἥδιον καὶ ὑγιαίνειν μᾶλλον καὶ εὐχρωτέραν φαίνεσθαι τῇ

12 ἀληθείᾳ. καὶ ὄψις δέ, ὅποταν ἀνταγωνίζεται διακόνῳ καθαρωτέρα οὔσα πρεπόντως τε μᾶλλον ἡμφιεσμένη,² κινητικὸν γίγνεται, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅποταν τὸ ἐκοῦσαν χαρίζεσθαι προσῇ ἀντὶ τοῦ

13 ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπηρετεῖν. αἱ δ' αἰεὶ καθήμεναι σεμνῶς πρὸς τὰς κεκοσμημένας καὶ ἐξαπατώσας κρίνεσθαι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτάς. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ

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For they are found out while they are dressing in the morning; they perspire and are lost; a tear convicts them; the bath reveals them as they are!'''

“‘And, pray, what did she say to that?’ I asked. 9

“‘Nothing,’ he said, ‘only she gave up such practices from that day forward, and tried to let me see her undisguised and as she should be. Still, she did ask whether I could advise her on one point: how she might make herself really beautiful, instead of merely seeming to be so. And this was my 10 advice, Socrates: “Don’t sit about for ever like a slave, but try, God helping you, to behave as a mistress: stand before the loom and be ready to instruct those who know less than you, and to learn from those who know more: look after the baking-maid: stand by the housekeeper when she is serving out stores: go round and see whether everything is in its place.” For I thought that would give her a walk as well as occupation. I also said it was ex- 11 cellent exercise to mix flour and knead dough; and to shake and fold cloaks and bedclothes; such exercise would give her a better appetite, improve her health, and add natural colour to her cheeks. Besides, when a wife’s looks outshine a maid’s, and 12 she is fresher and more becomingly dressed, they’re a ravishing sight, especially when the wife is also willing to oblige, whereas the girl’s services are compulsory. But wives who sit about like fine 13 ladies, expose themselves to comparison with painted and fraudulent hussies. And now, Socrates, you

¹ τῆν is omitted by Sauppe with many MSS.

² This passage is wrongly punctuated by Sauppe.

Σώκρατες, οὕτως εὖ ἴσθι ἢ γυνή μου κατεσκευασμένη βιοτεύει, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἐδίδασκον αὐτὴν καὶ ὥσπερ νῦν σοι λέγω.

XI. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργων ἱκανῶς μοι δοκῶ ἀκηκοέναι τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἄξιά γε πάννυ ἐπαίνου ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῶν. τὰ δ' αὖ σὰ ἔργα, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἤδη μοι λέγε, ἵνα σύ τε ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖς διηγησάμενος ἡσθῆς καὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ γαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα τελέως διακούσας καὶ καταμαθὼν, ἣν δύνωμαι, πολλήν σοι χάριν εἰδῶ.

2 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ πάννυ ἡδέως σοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, διηγήσομαι ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶν διατελῶ, ἵνα καὶ μεταρρυθμίσης με, εἴαν τί σοι δοκῶ μὴ καλῶς ποιεῖν.

3 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ, ἔφην, πῶς ἂν δικαίως μεταρρυθμισαίμι ἄνδρα ἀπειργασμένον καλόν τε καὶ γαθόν, καὶ ταῦτα ὧν ἀνὴρ ὃς ἀδολεσχεῖν τε δοκῶ καὶ ἀερομετρεῖν καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ ἀνοητότατον

4 δοκοῦν εἶναι ἔγκλημα πένης καλοῦμαι. καὶ πάννυ μεντᾶν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἣν ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ τῷ ἐπικλήματι τούτῳ, εἰ μὴ πρόην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Νικίου τοῦ ἐπηλύτου ἵππῳ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ θεατάς, πολὺν δὲ λόγον ἐχόντων τινῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ δῆτα ἡρόμην προσελθὼν τὸν ἵπποκόμον, εἰ πολλὰ εἶη χρήματα τῷ

5 ἵππῳ. ὁ δὲ προσβλέψας με ὡς οὐδὲ ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ ἐρωτήματι εἶπε· Πῶς δ' ἂν ἵππῳ χρήματα

¹ ἀδολεσχεῖν, ἀερομετρεῖν; these are taunts commonly levelled at Socrates; thus, for instance, Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 225:

may be sure, my wife's dress and appearance are in accord with my instructions and with my present description.' "

XI. " At this point I said, ' Ischomachus, I think your account of your wife's occupations is sufficient for the present—and very creditable it is to both of you. But now tell me of your own: thus you will have the satisfaction of stating the reasons why you are so highly respected, and I shall be much beholden to you for a complete account of a gentleman's occupations, and if my understanding serves, for a thorough knowledge of them.'

" ' Well then, Socrates,' answered Ischomachus, 2 ' it will be a very great pleasure to me to give you an account of my daily occupations, that you may correct me if you think there is anything amiss in my conduct.'

" ' As to that,' said I, ' how could I presume to 3 correct a perfect gentleman, I who am supposed to be a mere chatterer with my head in the air,¹ I who am called—the most senseless of all taunts—a poor beggar? I do assure you, Ischomachus, this last 4 imputation would have driven me to despair, were it not that a day or two ago I came upon the horse of Nicias the foreigner.² I saw a crowd walking behind the creature and staring, and heard some of them talking volubly about him. Well, I went up to the groom and asked him if the horse had many possessions. The man looked at me as if I must be 5 mad to ask such a question, and asked me how a

" ' What are you at, Socrates?' " ' I'm walking the air and pondering on the sun'; and 1480 : *Socr.*, " Excuse my silly chatter."

² If the text is right, this person cannot be the well-known Nicias.

γένοιτο ; οὕτω δὲ ἐγὼ ἀνέκνυφα ἀκούσας, ὅτι ἐστὶν
 ἄρα θεμιτὸν καὶ πένητι ἵππῳ ἀγαθῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ
 6 τὴν ψυχὴν φύσει ἀγαθὴν ἔχοι. ὥς οὖν θεμιτὸν
 καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι διηγοῦ τελέως τὰ
 σὰ ἔργα, ἵνα ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀκούων καταμαθεῖν
 πειρῶμαι καὶ ἐγὼ σε ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον ἡμέρας ἀρξά-
 μενος μιμεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὴ ἐστίν, ἔφην ἐγώ,
 ἡμέρα ὥς ἀρετῆς ἄρχεσθαι.

7 Σὺ μὲν παίζεις, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὦ Σώκρατες,
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμως σοι διηγήσομαι ἃ ἐγὼ ὅσον δύναμαι
 8 πειρῶμαι ἐπιτηδεύων διαπερᾶν τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ
 γὰρ καταμεμαθηκέναι δοκῶ, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀν-
 θρώποις ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ γιγνώσκειν τε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν
 καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ταῦτα περαίνηται οὐ θεμι-
 τὸν ἐποίησαν εὖ πράττειν, φρονίμοις δ' οὔσι καὶ
 ἐπιμελέσι τοῖς μὲν διδόασιν εὐδαιμονεῖν, τοῖς δ'
 οὐ, οὕτω δὲ ἐγὼ ἄρχομαι μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς θερα-
 πεύων, πειρῶμαι δὲ ποιεῖν, ὥς ἂν θέμις ᾦ μοι
 εὐχομένῳ καὶ ὑγιείας τυγχάνειν καὶ ῥώμης σώ-
 ματος καὶ τιμῆς ἐν πόλει καὶ εὐνοίας ἐν φίλοις
 καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καλῆς σωτηρίας καὶ πλούτου
 καλῶς αὐξομένου.

9 Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ταῦτα, Μέλει γὰρ δὴ σοι, ὦ
 Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅπως πλουτῆς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα
 ἔχων πολλὰ ἔχης πράγματα τούτων ἐπιμε-
 λόμενος ;

Καὶ πάννυ γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, μέλει μοι τού-
 των ὧν ἐρωτᾷς· ἡδὺ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες,
 καὶ θεοὺς μεγαλείως τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους, ἣν τινος
 δέωνται, ἐπωφελεῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν κατ' ἐμέ
 χρήμασιν ἀκόσμητον εἶναι.

10 Καὶ γὰρ καλὰ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐστὶν

horse could own property. At that I recovered, for his answer showed that it is possible even for a poor horse to be a good one, if nature has given him a good spirit. Assume, therefore, that it is possible 6 for me to be a good man, and give me a complete account of your occupations, that, so far as my understanding allows me, I may endeavour to follow your example from to-morrow morning; for that's a good day for entering on a course of virtue.'

" 'You're joking, Socrates,' said Ischomachus; 7 'nevertheless I will tell you what principles I try my best to follow consistently in life. For I seem 8 to realise that, while the gods have made it impossible for men to prosper without knowing and attending to the things they ought to do, to some of the wise and careful they grant prosperity, and to some deny it; and therefore I begin by worshipping the gods, and try to conduct myself in such a way that I may have health and strength in answer to my prayers, the respect of my fellow-citizens, the affection of my friends, safety with honour in war, and wealth increased by honest means.'

" 'What, Ischomachus,' I asked on hearing that, 9 'do you really want to be rich and to have much, along with much trouble to take care of it?'

" 'The answer to your questions,' said he, 'is, Yes, I do indeed. For I would fain honour the gods without counting the cost, Socrates, help friends in need, and look to it that the city lacks no adornment that my means can supply.'

" 'Truly noble aspirations, Ischomachus,' I cried, 10

- ἂ σὺ λέγεις καὶ δυνατοῦ γε ἰσχυρῶς ἀνδρός· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὅτε πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι, οἳ οὐ δύνανται ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ ἄλλων δεῖσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἣν δύνωνται τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρκούντα πορίζεσθαι. οἳ δὲ δὴ δυνάμενοι μὴ μόνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον διοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιποιεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κοσμεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπικουφίζειν, πῶς τούτους οὐχὶ βαθεῖς τε καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἄνδρας χρὴ νομίσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοὺς τοιούτους πολλοὶ δυνάμεθα. σὺ δέ μοι λέξον, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀφ' ὧν περ ἥρξω, πῶς ὑγιείας ἐπιμελῇ; πῶς τῆς τοῦ σώματος ῥώμης; πῶς θέμις εἶναί σοι καὶ ἐκ πολέμου καλῶς σῴζεσθαι; τῆς δὲ χρημασίσεως καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀρκέσει ἀκούειν.
- 12 Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὥς γε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀκόλουθα ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλήλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐσθίειν τις τὰ ἱκανὰ ἔχει, ἐκπονοῦντι μὲν ὀρθῶς μᾶλλον δοκεῖ μοι ἢ ὑγίεια παραμένειν, ἐκπονοῦντι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμη προσγίγνεσθαι, ἀσκούντι δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κάλλιον σῴζεσθαι, ὀρθῶς δὲ ἐπιμελομένῳ καὶ μὴ καταμαλακιζομένῳ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τὸν οἶκον αὔξεσθαι.
- 13 Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔπομαι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅτι ἐκπονοῦντα φῆς καὶ ἐπιμελόμενον καὶ ἀσκούντα ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον τυγχάνειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁποῖω δὲ πόνῳ χρὴ πρὸς τὴν εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ ὅπως ἀσκεῖς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅπως ἐπιμελῇ τοῦ περιουσίαν ποιεῖν ὥς καὶ φίλους ἐπωφελεῖν καὶ πόλιν ἐπισχύειν, ταῦτα ἂν ἡδέως, ἔφην ἐγώ, πυθοίμην.
- 14 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος;

‘and worthy of a man of means, no doubt! Seeing that there are many who cannot live without help from others, and many are content if they can get enough for their own needs, surely those who can maintain their own estate and yet have enough left to adorn the city and relieve their friends may well be thought high and mighty men. However,’ I 11 added, ‘praise of such men is a commonplace among us. Please return to your first statement, Ischomachus, and tell me how you take care of your health and your strength, how you make it possible to come through war with safety and honour. I shall be content to hear about your money-making afterwards.’

“‘Well, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘all 12 these things hang together, so far as I can see. For if a man has plenty to eat, and works off the effects¹ properly, I take it that he both insures his health and adds to his strength. By training himself in the arts of war he is more qualified to save himself honourably, and by due diligence and avoidance of loose habits, he is more likely to increase his estate.’

“‘So far, Ischomachus, I follow you,’ I answered. 13 ‘You mean that by working after meals, by diligence and by training, a man is more apt to obtain the good things of life. But now I should like you to give me details. By what kind of work do you endeavour to keep your health and strength? How do you train yourself in the arts of war? What diligence do you use to have a surplus from which to help friends and strengthen the city?’

“‘Well now, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘I 14

¹ *Cyropaedia* i. ii, 10.

- ἀνίστασθαι μὲν ἐξ εὐνῆς εἵθισμαι, ἥνικ' ἂν ἔτι
 ἔνδον καταλαμβάνοιμι, εἴ τινα δεόμενος ἰδεῖν τυγ-
 χάνοιμι. καὶν μὲν τι κατὰ πόλιν δέη πράττειν,
 ταῦτα πραγματευόμενος περιπάτω τούτῳ χρῶμαι.
 15 ἦν δὲ μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ κατὰ πόλιν, τὸν μὲν
 ἵππον ὁ παῖς προάγει εἰς ἀγρόν, ἐγὼ δὲ περιπάτω
 χρῶμαι τῇ εἰς ἀγρόν ὁδῷ ἴσως ἄμεινον, ὦ Σώ-
 16 κρατες, ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ περιπατοίην. ἐπειδὰν
 δὲ ἔλθω εἰς ἀγρόν, ἦν τέ μοι φυτεύοντες τυγχά-
 νωσιν ἦν τε νειοποιοῦντες ἦν τε σπείροντες ἦν τε
 καρπὸν προσκομίζοντες, ταῦτα ἐπισκεψάμενος
 ὅπως ἕκαστα γίγνεται μεταρρυθμίζω, ἂν ἔχω τι
 17 βέλτιον τοῦ παρόντος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὰ
 πολλὰ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἵππασάμην ἵππα-
 σίαν ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι ὁμοιοτάτην ταῖς ἐν τῷ
 πολέμῳ ἀναγκαίαις ἵππασίαις, οὔτε πλαγίου οὔτε
 κατάντους οὔτε τάφρου οὔτε ὀχετοῦ ἀπεχόμενος,
 ὡς μέντοι δυνατόν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐπιμέλομαι μὴ
 18 ἀποχωλεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα γέ-
 νηται, ὁ παῖς ἐξαλίσας τὸν ἵππον οἴκαδε ἀπάγει,
 ἅμα φέρων ἀπὸ χώρου ἦν τι δεώμεθα εἰς ἄστυ.
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν βάδην τὰ δὲ ἀποδραμῶν οἴκαδε
 ἀπεστλεγγισάμην. εἶτα δὲ ἀριστῶ, ὦ Σώκρατες,
 ὅσα μήτε κενὸς μήτε ἄγαν πλήρης διημερεύειν.
 19 Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀρεσ-
 κόντως γέ μοι ταῦτα ποιεῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 χρόνῳ συνεσκευασμένως χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε πρὸς τὴν
 ὑγίειαν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν ῥώμην παρασκευάσμασι
 καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήμασι καὶ ταῖς τοῦ
 πλούτου ἐπιμελείαις, ταῦτα πάντα ἀγαστά μοι
 20 δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἐκάστου τούτων
 ἐπιμελῇ, ἱκανὰ τεκμήρια παρέχῃ· ὑγιαίνοντά τε

rise from my bed at an hour when, if I want to call on anyone, I am sure to find him still at home. If I have any business to do in town, I make it an opportunity for getting a walk. If there is nothing 15 pressing to be done in town, my servant leads my horse to the farm, and I make my walk by going to it on foot, with more benefit, perhaps, Socrates, than if I took a turn in the arcade. When I reach the 16 farm, I may find planting, clearing, sowing or harvesting in progress. I superintend all the details of the work, and make any improvements in method that I can suggest. After this, I usually mount my 17 horse and go through exercises, imitating as closely as I can the exercises needed in warfare. I avoid neither slope nor steep incline, ditch nor water-course, but I use all possible care not to lame my horse when he takes them. After I have finished, 18 the servant gives the horse a roll and leads him home, bringing with him from the farm anything we happen to want in the city. I divide the return home between walking and running. Arrived, I clean myself with a strigil, and then I have luncheon, Socrates, eating just enough to get through the day neither empty-bellied nor too full.'

" 'Upon my word, Ischomachus,' cried I, 'I am 19 delighted with your activities. For you have a pack of appliances for securing health and strength, of exercises for war and specifics for getting rich, and you use them all at the same time ! 'That does seem to me admirable ! And in fact you afford con- 20 vincing proofs that your method in pursuing each of these objects is sound. For we see you generally in

γὰρ καὶ ἐρρωμένον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
σε ὀρώμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἵππικωτάτοις τε καὶ πλου-
σιωτάτοις λεγόμενον σε ἐπιστάμεθα.

21 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,
ὑπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ συκοφαντοῦμαι, σὺ δ' ἴσως ὧρου
με ἐρεῖν, ὡς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς κέκλη-
μαι.

22 Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἔμελλον δὲ ἐγώ, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε,
τοῦτο ἐρήσεσθαι, εἴ τινα καὶ τούτου ἐπιμέλειαν
ποιῇ, ὅπως δύνῃ λόγον διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ἢν
τινὶ ποτε δέη.

Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, αὐτὰ
ταῦτα διατελεῖν μελετῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν, ὅτι
οὐδένα ἀδικῶ, εὖ δὲ ποιῶ πολλοὺς ὅσον ἂν δύνω-
μαι; κατηγορεῖν δὲ οὐ δοκῶ σοι μελετᾶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἀδικοῦντας μὲν καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν
πόλιν καταμανθάνων τινάς, εὖ δὲ ποιοῦντας
οὐδένα;

23 Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν τοιαῦτα μελετᾷς, τοῦτό
μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἔτι, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, δήλωσον.

Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, παύομαι, ἔφη,
λέγειν μελετῶν. ἢ γὰρ κατηγοροῦντός τινος τῶν
οἰκετῶν ἢ ἀπολογουμένου ἀκούσας ἐλέγχειν πειρῶ-
μαι ἢ μέμφομαί τινα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἢ ἐπαινῶ
ἢ διαλλάττω τινὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, πειρώμενος
διδάσκειν, ὡς συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι μάλ-

24 λον ἢ πολεμίους. ἐπιτιμῶμέν τινι στρατηγῷ
συμπαρόντες ἢ ἀπολογούμεθα ὑπὲρ του, εἴ τις
ἀδίκως αἰτίαν ἔχει, ἢ κατηγοροῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους, εἴ τις ἀδίκως τιμᾶται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ
βουλευόμενοι ἂ μὲν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶμεν πράττειν,

the enjoyment of health and strength, thanks to the gods, and we know that you are considered one of our best horsemen and wealthiest citizens.'

" 'And what comes of these activities, Socrates? 21 Not, as you perhaps expected to hear, that I am generally dubbed a gentleman, but that I am persistently slandered.'

" 'Ah,' said I, 'but I was meaning to ask you, 22 Ischomachus, whether you include in your system ability to conduct a prosecution and defence, in case you have to appear in the courts?'

" 'Why, Socrates,' he answered, 'do you not see¹ that this is just what I am constantly practising—showing my traducers that I wrong no man and do all the good I can to many? And do you not think that I practise myself in accusing, by taking careful note of certain persons who are doing wrong to many individuals and to the state, and are doing no good to anyone?'

" 'But tell me one thing more, Ischomachus,' I 23 said; 'do you also practise the art of expounding these matters?'

" 'Why, Socrates,' he replied, 'I assiduously practise the art of speaking. For I get one of the servants to act as prosecutor or defendant, and try to confute him; or I praise or blame someone before his friends; or I act as peace-maker between some of my acquaintances by trying to show them that it is to their interest to be friends rather than enemies. I assist at a court-martial and censure a 24 soldier, or take turns in defending a man who is unjustly blamed, or in accusing one who is unjustly honoured. We often sit in counsel and speak in

¹ *Mem.* IV. viii. 4.

25 ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἂ δ' ἂν μὴ βουλώμεθα πράττειν, ταῦτα μεμφόμεθα. ἤδη δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ διειλημμένως πολλάκις ἐκρίθην ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε; ἐμὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἐλάνθανεν.

Ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἔφη.

Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀγωνίζῃ;

Ὅταν μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν συμφέρῃ, πάνυ ἐπικῶς· ὅταν δὲ ψευδῇ, τὸν ἥττω λόγον, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ δύναμαι κρείττω ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἴσως γάρ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τὸ ψεῦδος οὐ δύνασαι ἀληθὲς ποιεῖν.

XII. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, μὴ σε κατακωλύω, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀπιέναι ἤδη βουλόμενον.

Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι, πρὶν παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λυθῇ.

2 Νὴ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, φυλάττει γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς, μὴ ἀποβάλλῃς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς κεκληθῆναι. νῦν γὰρ πολλῶν σοι ἴσως ὄντων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων, ἐπεὶ συνέθου τοῖς ξένοις, ἀναμένεις αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ ψεύσῃ.

Ἀλλὰ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνά μοι ἀμελεῖται, ἂ σὺ λέγεις· ἔχω γὰρ ἐπιτρόπους ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

3 Πότερα δέ, ἐγὼ ἔφην ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅταν δεηθῇς ἐπιτρόπου, καταμαθὼν, ἦν που ἡ ἐπιτροπευτικὸς ἀνὴρ, τοῦτον πειρᾷ ὠνεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ὅταν τέκτονος δεηθῇς, καταμαθὼν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἦν που ἰδὴς τεκτονικόν, τοῦτον πειρᾷ κτᾶσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;

4 Αὐτὸς νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πειρῶμαι παι-

support of the course we want to adopt and against the course we want to avoid. I have often been 25 singled out before now, Socrates, and condemned to suffer punishment or pay damages.'

" 'By whom, Ischomachus?' I asked; 'I am in the dark about that!'

" 'By my wife,' was his answer.

" 'And, pray, how do you plead?' said I.

" 'Pretty well, when it is to my interest to speak the truth. But when lying is called for, Socrates, I can't make the worse cause appear the better—oh no, not at all.'

" 'Perhaps, Ischomachus,' I commented, 'you can't make the falsehood into the truth!'

XII. " 'But perhaps I am keeping you, Ischomachus,' I continued, 'and you want to get away now?'

" 'Oh no, Socrates,' he answered; 'I should not think of going before the market empties.'

" 'To be sure,' I continued; 'you take the 2 utmost care not to forfeit your right to be called a gentleman! For I daresay there are many things claiming your attention now; but, as you have made an appointment with those strangers, you are determined not to break it.'

" 'But I assure you, Socrates, I am not neglecting the matters you refer to, either; for I keep bailiffs on my farms.'

" 'And when you want a bailiff, Ischomachus, do 3 you look out for a man qualified for such a post, and then try to buy him—when you want a builder, I feel sure you inquire for a qualified man and try to get him—or do you train your bailiff's yourself?'

" 'Of course I try to train them myself, Socrates. 4

δεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις μέλλει ἀρκέσειν, ὅταν ἐγὼ ἀπῶ, αὐτ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιμελούμενος, τί αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖ ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ ἅπερ ἐγώ; εἴπερ γὰρ ἱκανὸς εἶμι τῶν ἔργων προστατεύειν, καὶ ἄλλον δήπου δυναίμην διδάξαι ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι.

- 5 Οὐκοῦν εὐνοϊαν πρῶτον, ἔφην ἐγώ, δεήσει αὐτὸν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, εἰ μέλλει ἀρκέσειν ἀντὶ σοῦ παρών· ἄνευ γὰρ εὐνοίας τί ὄφελος καὶ ὁποίας τινὸς οὖν ἐπιτρόπου ἐπιστήμης γίγνεται;

Οὐδὲν μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τοι τὸ εὐνοεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειρῶμαι παιδεύειν.

- 6 Καὶ πῶς, ἐγὼ ἔφην, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εὐνοϊαν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς διδάσκεις ὄντινα ἂν βούλῃ;

Εὐεργετῶν νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὅταν τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ θεοὶ ἀφθονίαν διδῶσιν ἡμῖν.

- 7 Τοῦτο οὖν λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι οἱ ἀπολαύοντες τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐνοί σοι γίνονται καὶ ἀγαθὸν τί σε βούλονται πράττειν;

Τοῦτο γὰρ ὄργανον, ὦ Σώκρατες, εὐνοίας ἄριστον ὁρῶ ὄν.

- 8 Ἦν δὲ δὴ εὐνους σοι γένηται, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἢ τούτου ἔνεκα ἱκανὸς ἔσται ἐπιτροπεύειν; οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς εὐνοὶ πάντες ὄντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πολλοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἳ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἔσται ταῦτα ἂ βούλονται εἶναί σφισι τὰ ἀγαθὰ;

- 9 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοιούτους ὅταν ἐπιτρόπους βούλωμαι καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διδάσκω.

For the man has to be capable of taking charge in my absence ; so why need he know anything but what I know myself? For if I am fit to manage the farm, I presume I can teach another man what I know myself.'

" 'Then the first requirement will be that he 5 should be loyal to you and yours, if he is to represent you in your absence. For if a steward is not loyal, what is the good of any knowledge he may possess?'

" 'None, of course ; but I may tell you, loyalty to me and to mine is the first lesson I try to teach.'

" 'And how, in heaven's name, do you teach your 6 man to be loyal to you and yours?'

" 'By rewarding him, of course, whenever the gods bestow some good thing on us in abundance.'

" 'You mean, then, that those who enjoy a share 7 of your good things are loyal to you and want you to prosper?'

" 'Yes, Socrates, I find that is the best instrument for producing loyalty.'

" 'But, now, if he is loyal to you, Ischomachus, 8 will that be enough to make him a competent bailiff? Don't you see that though all men, practically, wish themselves well, yet there are many who won't take the trouble to get for themselves the good things they want to have?'

" 'Well, when I want to make bailiffs of such men, 9 of course I teach them also to be careful.'

10 Πῶς, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ; τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἐγὼ παντάπασιν οὐ διδακτὸν ᾧμην εἶναι, τὸ ἐπιμελῆ ποιῆσαι.

Οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐφεξῆς γε οὕτως οἶόν τε πάντα διδάξαι ἐπιμελεῖς εἶναι.

11 Ποίους μὲν δὴ, ἐγὼ ἔφην, οἶόν τε ; πάντως μοι σαφῶς τούτους διασήμηνον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς οἴνου ἀκρατεῖς οὐκ ἂν δύναιο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ποιῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ μεθύειν λήθην ἐμποιεῖ πάντων τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

12 Οἱ οὖν τούτου ἀκρατεῖς μόνοι, ἐγὼ ἔφην, ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οἱ γε τοῦ ὕπνου· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς δύναιτο καθεύδων τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν οὔτε ἄλλους παρέχεσθαι.

13 Τί οὖν ; ἐγὼ ἔφην, οὗτοι αὖ μόνοι ἀδύνατοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν διδαχθῆναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές πρὸς τούτοις ;

Ἐμοιγέ τοι δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων δυσέρωτες ἀδύνατοι εἶναι διδαχθῆναι ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ τούτου·

14 οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίδα οὔτ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἡδίονα ῥάδιον εὐρεῖν τῆς τῶν παιδικῶν ἐπιμελείας, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅταν παρῇ τὸ πρακτέον, τιμωρίαν χαλεπωτέραν εὐπετές ἐστι τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρωμένων κωλύεσθαι. ὑφίεμαι οὖν καὶ οὓς ἂν τοιούτους γινῶ ὄντας μὴδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιμελητὰς τούτων τινὰς καθιστάναι.

15 Τί δέ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἵτινες αὖ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ κερδαίνειν, ἢ καὶ οὗτοι ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων παιδεύεσθαι ;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλὰ

“ ‘Pray how do you do that? I was under the 10 impression that carefulness is a virtue that can’t possibly be taught.’

“ ‘True, Socrates, it isn’t possible to teach everyone you come across to be careful.’

“ ‘Very well; what sort of men can be taught? 11 Point these out to me, at all events.’

“ ‘In the first place, Socrates, you can’t make careful men of hard drinkers; for drink makes them forget everything they ought to do.’

“ ‘Then are drunkards the only men who will 12 never become careful, or are there others?’

“ ‘Of course there are—sluggards must be included; for you can’t do your own business when you are asleep, nor make others do theirs.’

“ ‘Well then, will these make up the total of 13 persons incapable of learning this lesson, or are there yet others besides?’

“ ‘I should add that in my opinion a man who falls desperately in love is incapable of giving more attention to anything than he gives to the object of his passion. For it isn’t easy to find hope or occupa- 14 tion more delightful than devotion to the darling! aye, and when the thing to be done presses, no harder punishment can easily be thought of than the prevention of intercourse with the beloved! Therefore I shrink from attempting to make a manager of that sort of man too.’

“ ‘And what about the men who have a passion 15 for lucre? Are they also incapable of being trained to take charge of the work of a farm?’

“ ‘Not at all; of course not. In fact, they very

καὶ πάνυ εὐάγωγοί εἰσιν εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δεῖ ἢ δεῖξαι μόνον αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια.

- 16 Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἰ ἐγκρατεῖς τέ εἰσιν ὧν σὺ κελεύεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖς εἶναι μετρίως ἔχουσιν, πῶς ἐκδιδάσκεις ὧν σὺ βούλει ἐπιμελεῖς γίγνεσθαι ;

Ἀπλῶς, ἔφη, πάνυ, ὦ Σώκρατες. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελουμένους ἴδω, καὶ ἐπαινῶ καὶ τιμᾶν πειρῶμαι αὐτούς, ὅταν δὲ ἀμελοῦντας, λέγειν τε πειρῶμαι καὶ ποιεῖν ὅποια δήξεται αὐτούς.

- 17 Ἴθι, ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, καὶ τόδε μοι παρατραπόμενος τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν παιδευομένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δῆλωσον περὶ τοῦ παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ οἶόν τέ ἐστὶν ἀμελῇ αὐτὸν ὄντα ἄλλους ποιεῖν ἐπιμελεῖς.

- 18 Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον ἢ ἄμουσον ὄντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους μουσικοὺς ποιεῖν. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τοῦ διδασκάλου πονηρῶς τι ὑποδεικνύοντος καλῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν μαθεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν γε ὑποδεικνύοντος τοῦ δεσπότης χαλεπὸν ἐπιμελῇ

- 19 θεράποντα γενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, πονηροῦ μὲν δεσπότης οἰκέτας οὐ δοκῶ χρηστοὺς καταμεμαθηκέναι· χρηστοῦ μέντοι πονηροὺς ἤδη εἶδον, οὐ μέντοι ἀζημίους γε. τὸν δὲ ἐπιμελήτικους βουλόμενον ποιήσασθαι τινὰς καὶ ἐφορὰτικὸν δεῖ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν καὶ χάριν θέλοντα τῶν καλῶς τελουμένων ἀποδιδόναι τῷ αἰτίῳ καὶ δίκην μὴ ὀκνοῦντα τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἀμελοῦντι. καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ βαρβάρου λεγομένη ἀπόκρισις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς ἄρα ἵππου ἐπιτυχῶν

easily qualify for the work. It is merely necessary to point out to them that diligence is profitable.'

" 'And assuming that the others are free from the 16 faults that you condemn and are covetous of gain in a moderate degree, how do you teach them to be careful in the affairs you want them to superintend?'

" 'By a very simple plan, Socrates. Whenever I notice that they are careful, I commend them and try to show them honour; but when they appear careless, I try to say and do the sort of things that will sting them.'

" 'Turn now, Ischomachus, from the subject of 17 the men in training for the occupation, and tell me about the system: is it possible for anyone to make others careful if he is careless himself?'

" 'Of course not: an unmusical person could as 18 soon teach music. For it is hard to learn to do a thing well when the teacher prompts you badly; and when a master prompts a servant to be careless, it is difficult for the man to become a good servant. To put it shortly, I don't think I have discovered a 19 bad master with good servants: I have, however, come across a good master with bad servants—but they suffered for it! If you want to make men fit to take charge, you must supervise their work and examine it, and be ready to reward work well carried through, and not shrink from punishing carelessness as it deserves. I like the answer that is attributed 20 to the Persian. The king, you know, had happened

ἀγαθοῦ παχύναι αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα βουλόμενος ἤρετο τῶν δεινῶν τινα ἀμφ' ἵππους δοκούντων εἶναι, τί τάχιστα παχύνει ἵππον· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν λέγεται, ὅτι δεσπότης ὀφθαλμός. οὕτω δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τὰλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ δεσπότης ὀφθαλμός τὰ καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ μάλιστα ἐργάζεσθαι.

XIII. "Όταν δὲ παραστήσης τινί, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦτο καὶ πάννυ ἰσχυρῶς, ὅτι δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν σὺ βούλῃ, ἢ ἱκανὸς ἤδη ἔσται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπιτροπεύειν ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο προσμαθητέον αὐτῷ ἔσται, εἰ μέλλει ἐπίτροπος ἱκανὸς ἔσεσθαι ;

2 Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος, ἔτι μέντοι λοιπὸν αὐτῷ ἔστι γινῶναι, ὅ τι τε ποιητέον καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅπως, εἰ δὲ μή, τί μᾶλλον ἐπιτρόπου ἀνευ τούτων ὄφελος ἢ ἰατροῦ, ὃς ἐπιμελοῖτο μὲν κάμνοντός τινος πρῶί τε ἰὼν καὶ ὀψέ, ὅ τι δὲ συμφέρον τῷ κάμνοντι ποιεῖν εἴη, τοῦτο μὴ εἰδείη ;

3 Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα μάθῃ ὡς ἔστιν ἐργαστέα, ἔτι τινός, ἔφην ἐγώ, προσδεῖσεται ἢ ἀποτελεσμένος ἤδη οὗτός σοι ἔσται ἐπίτροπος ;

"Αρχεῖν γε, ἔφη, οἶμαι δεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν τῶν ἐργαζομένων.

4 Ἦ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ σὺ ἄρχεῖν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ;

Πειρῶμαί γε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος.

Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀρχικοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων παιδεύεις ;

Φαύλως, ἔφη, πάννυ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥστε ἴσως ἂν καὶ καταγελάσῃς ἀκούων.

5 Οὐ μὲν δὴ ἄξιόν γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ πρᾶγμα κατα-

on a good horse, and wanted to fatten him as speedily as possible. So he asked one who was reputed clever with horses what is the quickest way of fattening a horse. "The master's eye," replied the man. I think we may apply the answer generally, Socrates, and say that the master's eye in the main does the good and worthy work.' "

XIII. "When you have impressed on a man,' I resumed, 'the necessity of careful attention to the duties you assign to him, will he then be competent to act as bailiff, or must he learn something besides, if he is to be efficient?'

"Of course,' answered Ischomachus, 'he has still 2 to understand what he has to do, and when and how to do it. Otherwise how could a bailiff be of more use than a doctor who takes care to visit a patient early and late, but has no notion of the right way to treat his illness?'

"Well, but suppose he has learned how farm- 3 work is to be done, will he want something more yet, or will your man now be a perfect bailiff?'

"I think he must learn to rule the labourers.'

"And do you train your bailiffs to be competent 4 to rule too?'

"Yes, I try, anyhow.'

"And pray tell me how you train them to be rulers of men.'

"By a childishly easy method, Socrates. I dare- say you'll laugh if I tell you.'

"Oh, but it is certainly not a laughing matter, 5

γέλωτος, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε. ὅστις γάρ τοι ἀρχικοὺς ἀνθρώπων δύναται ποιεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι οὗτος καὶ δεσποτικούς ἀνθρώπων δύναται διδάσκειν, ὅστις δὲ δεσποτικούς, δύναται ποιεῖν καὶ βασιλικούς. ὥστε οὐ καταγέλωτός μοι δοκεῖ ἄξιός εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνου μεγάλου ὁ τοῦτο δυνάμενος ποιεῖν.

- 6 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα ἐκ δυοῖν τούτοις τὸ πείθεσθαι μαθάνουσιν, ἐκ τε τοῦ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι κολάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ
7 τοῦ ὅταν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶσιν εὖ πάσχειν. οἷ τε γοῦν πῶλοι μαθάνουσιν ὑπακούειν τοῖς πωλο-
δάμναις τῷ ὅταν μὲν πείθωνται τῶν ἡδέων τι αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῶσι πράγματα ἔχειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπηρετήσωσι κατὰ γνώμην τῷ
8 πωλοδάμνῃ· καὶ τὰ κυνίδια δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα ὅμως καὶ περιτρέχειν καὶ κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἄλλα
πολλὰ μαθάνει τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ πείθεται, λαμβάνει τι ὧν δεῖται, ὅταν δὲ
9 ἀμελῇ, κολάζεται. ἀνθρώπους δ' ἔστι πιθανω-
τέρους ποιεῖν καὶ λόγῳ ἐπιδεικνύοντα, ὡς συμ-
φέρει αὐτοῖς πείθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα θηριώδης παιδεία εἶναι πάννυ ἐστὶν ἐπαγωγὸς πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι διδάσκειν· τῇ γὰρ
γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις προσχαριζό-
μενος ἂν πολλὰ ἀνύτοις παρ' αὐτῶν. αἱ δὲ φιλότιμοι τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῷ ἐπαίνῳ παροξύ-
νονται. πεινῶσι γὰρ τοῦ ἐπαίνου οὐχ ἥττον ἔνιαι
τῶν φύσεων ἢ ἄλλαι τῶν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν.
10 ταῦτά [τε] οὖν, ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ποιῶν οἶμαι πιθανω-
τέροις ἀνθρώποις χρῆσθαι, διδάσκων οὐς ἂν ἐπι-
τοόπους βούλωμαι καταστήσαι καὶ τάδε συλ-

Ischomachus. For anyone who can make men fit to rule others can also teach them to be masters of others; and if he can make them fit to be masters, he can make them fit to be kings. So anyone who can do that seems to me to deserve high praise rather than laughter.'

“Well now, Socrates, other creatures learn 6 obedience in two ways—by being punished when they try to disobey, and by being rewarded when they are eager to serve you. Colts, for example, 7 learn to obey the horsebreaker by getting something they like when they are obedient, and suffering inconvenience when they are disobedient, until they carry out the horsebreaker's intentions. Puppies, 8 again, are much inferior to men in intelligence and power of expression; and yet they learn to run in circles and turn somersaults and do many other tricks in the same way; for when they obey they get something that they want, and when they are careless, they are punished. And men can be made 9 more obedient by word of mouth merely, by being shown that it is good for them to obey. But in dealing with slaves the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience; for you will do much with them by filling their bellies with the food they hanker after. Those of an ambitious disposition are also spurred on by praise, some natures being hungry for praise as others for meat and drink. Now these are pre- 10 cisely the things that I do myself with a view to making men more obedient; but they are not the only lessons I give to those whom I want to appoint my bailiffs. I have other ways of helping them on.

- λαμβάνω αὐτοῖς· ἱμάτιά τε γάρ, ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐργαστήρσι, καὶ ὑποδήματα οὐχ ὅμοια πάντα ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χεῖρω, τὰ δὲ βελτίω, ἵνα ἢ τὸν κρείττω τοῖς βελτίοσι τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ
- 11 χείρονι τὰ ἥττω διδόναι. πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀθυμία ἐγγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὰ μὲν ἔργα δι' αὐτῶν καταπραπτόμενα, τῶν δὲ ὁμοίων τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς μήτε πονεῖν μήτε κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας,
- 12 ὅταν δέη. αὐτός τε οὖν οὐδ' ὅπως τι οὖν τῶν ἴσων ἀξιῶ τοὺς ἀμείνους τοῖς κακίοσι τυγχάνειν τοὺς τ' ἐπιτρόπους ὅταν μὲν εἰδῶ διαδεδωκότας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις τὰ κράτιστα, ἐπαινῶ, ἣν δὲ ἴδω ἢ κολακεύμασί τινα προτιμώμενον ἢ καὶ ἄλλητινὶ ἀνωφελεῖ χάριτι, οὐκ ἀμελῶ, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλήττω καὶ πειρῶμαι διδάσκειν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτῷ σύμφορα ταῦτα ποιεῖ.

XIV. "Ὅταν δέ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἄρχειν ἤδη ἱκανός σοι γένηται, ὥστε πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι, ἢ ἀποτετελεσμένον τούτου ἡγῇ ἐπιτροπον ἢ ἔτι τινὸς προσδεῖται ὁ ταῦτα ἔχων ἃ σὺ εἴρηκας ;

- 2 Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοῦ γε ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν δεσποσύνων καὶ μὴ κλέπτειν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειριζόμενος πολμῶν ἀφανίζειν, ὥστε μὴ λείπειν λυσιτελοῦντας τοῖς ἔργοις, τί ἂν ὄφελος εἴη τὸ διὰ τῆς τούτου ἐπιμελείας γεωργεῖν ;
- 3 Ἡ καὶ ταύτην οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὴν δικαιοσύνην σὺ ὑποδύη διδάσκειν ;

Καὶ πάνυ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· οὐ μέντοι γε πάντας ἐξ ἐτοίμου εὕρισκω ὑπακούοντας τῆς δι-

For the clothes that I must provide for my work-people and the shoes are not all alike. Some are better than others, some worse, in order that I may reward the better servant with the superior articles, and give the inferior things to the less deserving. For I think it is very disheartening to good servants, 11 Socrates, when they see that they do all the work, and others who are not willing to work hard and run risks when need be, get the same as they. For my 12 part, then, I don't choose to put the deserving on a level with the worthless, and when I know that my bailiffs have distributed the best things to the most deserving, I commend them; and if I see that flattery or any other futile service wins special favour, I don't overlook it, but reprove the bailiff, and try to show him, Socrates, that such favouritism is not even in his own interest.'"

XIV. "'Now, Ischomachus,' said I, 'when you find your man so competent to rule that he can make them obedient, do you think him a perfect bailiff, or does he want anything else, even with the qualifications you have mentioned?'

"'Of course, Socrates,' returned Ischomachus, 'he 2 must be honest and not touch his master's property. For if the man who handles the crops dares to make away with them, and doesn't leave enough to give a profit on the undertaking, what good can come of farming under his management?'

"'Then do you take it on yourself to teach this 3 kind of justice too?'

"'Certainly: I don't find, however, that all readily

- 4 δασκαλίας ταύτης. καίτοι τὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
Δράκοντος νόμων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Σόλωνος πει-
ρῶμαι, ἔφη, λαμβάνων ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν δικαιο-
σύνην τοὺς οἰκέτας. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ
οὔτοι οἱ ἄνδρες θεῖναι πολλοὺς τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ
5 δικαιοσύνης τῆς τοιαύτης διδασκαλία. γέγρα-
πται γὰρ ζημιοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέμμασι καὶ δεδέ-
σθαι, ἣν τις ἀλῶ ποιῶν, καὶ θανατοῦσθαι τοὺς
ἐγχειροῦντας. δῆλον οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔγραφον αὐτὰ
βουλόμενοι ἀλυσιτελῇ ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀδίκους τὴν
6 αἰσχροκέρδειαν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ τούτων [προσ-
φέρων] ἓν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων προσ-
φερόμενος πειρῶμαι δικαίους περὶ τὰ διαχειριζό-
7 μενα ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ
οἱ νόμοι ζημίαι μόνον εἰσὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οἱ
δὲ βασιλικοὶ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ζημιοῦσι τοὺς ἀδι-
κοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους· ὥστε
ὀρῶντες πλουσιωτέρους γιγνομένους τοὺς δικαίους
τῶν ἀδίκων πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς ὄντες εὖ μάλα
8 ἐπιμένουσι τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν. οὓς δ' ἂν αἰσθάνωμαι,
ἔφη, ὅμως καὶ εὖ πάσχοντας ἔτι ἀδικεῖν πειρω-
μένους, τούτους ὡς ἀνηκέστους πλεονέκτας ὄντας
9 ἤδη καὶ τῆς χρήσεως ἀποπαύω. οὓς δ' ἂν αὖ
καταμάθω μὴ τῷ πλέον ἔχειν μόνον διὰ τὴν
δικαιοσύνην ἐπαιρομένους δικαίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τού-
τοις ὥσπερ ἐλευθέροις ἤδη χρῶμαι οὐ μόνον πλου-
τίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ὡς καλοὺς τε καὶ αγαθοὺς.
10 τούτῳ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, διαφέρειν
ἀνὴρ φιλότιμος ἀνδρὸς φιλοκερδοῦς, τῷ ἐθέλειν
ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκα καὶ πονεῖν ὅπου δεῖ καὶ
κινδυνεύειν καὶ αἰσχρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι.

pay heed to this lesson. Nevertheless I guide the 4
servants into the path of justice with the aid of
maxims drawn from the laws of Draco and Solon.
For it seems to me that these famous men enacted
many of their laws with an eye on this particular
kind of justice. For it is written: "thieves shall 5
be fined for their thefts," and "anyone guilty of
attempt shall be imprisoned if taken in the act, and
put to death."¹ The object of these enactments was
clearly to make covetousness unprofitable to the
offender. By applying some of these clauses and 6
other enactments found in the Persian king's code,
I try to make my servants upright in the matters
that pass through their hands. For while those laws 7
only penalise the wrongdoer,² the king's code not
only punishes the guilty, but also benefits the up-
right. Thus, seeing that the honest grow richer
than the dishonest, many, despite their love of lucre,
are careful to remain free from dishonesty. And if I 8
find any attempting to persist in dishonesty, although
they are well treated, I regard them as incorrigibly
greedy, and have nothing more to do with them.
On the other hand, if I discover that a man is in- 9
clined to be honest not only because he gains by his
honesty, but also from a desire to win my approba-
tion, I treat him like a free man by making him
rich; and not only so, but I honour him as a gentle-
man. For I think, Socrates, that the difference 10
between ambition and greed consists in this, that
for the sake of praise and honour the ambitious are
willing to work properly, to take risks and refrain
from dishonest gain.' "

¹ This is neither a clear nor an exact statement of the law attributed to Solon in Demosth. *Timocrates*, § 113; and some suspect a corruption in the text. ² *Mem.* III. iv. 8.

XV. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἐπειδάν γε ἐμποιήσης τινὲ τὸ βούλεσθαί σοι εἶναι τὰγαθά, ἐμποιήσης δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ <τὸ>¹ ἐπιμελείσθαι, ὅπως ταῦτά σοι ἐπιτελῇται, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστήμην κτήσῃ αὐτῷ, ὥς ἂν ποιούμενα ἕκαστα τῶν ἔργων ὠφελιμώτερα γίγνοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄρχειν ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν ποιήσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἡδηταί σοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὥραϊα ἀποδεικνύων ὅτι πλείστα ὅσπερ σὺ σαυτῷ, οὐκέτι ἐρήσομαι περὶ τούτου, εἰ ἔτι τινὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος προσδεῖται· πάννυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἤδη πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι ἐπίτροπος ὢν τοιοῦτος. ἐκείνο μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, μὴ ἀπολίπῃς, ὃ ἡμῖν ἀργότατα ἐπιδεδράμηται τοῦ λόγου.

2 Τὸ ποῖον ; ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος.

Ἐλεξας δὴπουν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι μέγιστον εἴη μαθεῖν, ὅπως δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστα· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔφησθα ὄφελος οὐδὲν γίγνεσθαι, εἰ μή τις ἐπίσταιτο ἂν δεῖ καὶ ὥς δεῖ ποιεῖν.

3 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· Τὴν τέχνην με ἤδη, ὦ Σώκρατες, κελεύεις αὐτὴν διδάσκειν τῆς γεωργίας ;

Αὕτη γὰρ ἴσως, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἤδη ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα τοὺς μὲν ἐπισταμένους αὐτὴν πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένους πολλὰ πονοῦντας ἀπόρως βιοτεύειν.

4 Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τὴν φιλο-
θρωπίαν ταύτης τῆς τέχνης ἀκούσῃ. τὸ γὰρ ὠφελιμωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ ἡδίστην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ καλλίστην καὶ προσφιλεστάτην θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ῥάστην εἶναι μαθεῖν πῶς οὐχὶ γενναῖόν ἐστι ; γενναῖα δὲ δήπου

XV. “‘Well, well, I won’t go on to ask whether anything more is wanting to your man, after you have implanted in him a desire for your prosperity and have made him also careful to see that you achieve it, and have obtained for him, besides, the knowledge needful to ensure that every piece of work done shall add to the profits, and, further, have made him capable of ruling, and when, besides all this, he takes as much delight in producing heavy crops for you in due season as you would take if you did the work yourself. For it seems to me that a man like that would make a very valuable bailiff. Nevertheless, Ischomachus, don’t leave a gap in that part of the subject to which we have given the most cursory attention.’

“‘Which is it?’ asked Ischomachus.

“‘You said, you know, that the greatest lesson 2 to learn is how things ought to be done; and added that, if a man is ignorant what to do and how to do it, no good can come of his management.’

“‘Then he said, ‘Socrates, are you insisting now 3 that I should teach the whole art and mystery of agriculture?’

“‘Yes,’ said I; ‘for maybe it is just this that makes rich men of those who understand it, and condemns the ignorant to a life of penury, for all their toil.’

“‘Well, Socrates, you shall now hear how kindly 4 a thing is this art. Helpful, pleasant, honourable, dear to gods and men in the highest degree, it is also in the highest degree easy to learn. Noble qualities surely! As you know, we call those crea-

¹ τδ added by Heindorf: Sauppe omits with the MSS.

καλοῦμεν καὶ τῶν ζώων ὅποσα καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
καὶ ὠφέλιμα ὄντα πραέα ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
πους.

- 5 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγώ, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε,
ἱκανῶς δοκῶ καταμεμαθηκέναι ἢ εἶπας, καθὰ δεῖ
διδάσκειν τὸν ἐπίτροπον· καὶ γὰρ ἢ ἔφησθα
εὖνουν σοι ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν δοκῶ καὶ ἢ
6 ἐπιμελῇ καὶ ἀρχικὸν καὶ δίκαιον. ὃ δὲ εἶπας ὥς
δεῖ μαθεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς γεωργίας ἐπι-
μελεῖσθαι καὶ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὥς δεῖ καὶ ὅποτε
ἕκαστα, ταῦτά μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀργότερόν
7 πῶς ἐπιδεδραμηκέναι τῷ λόγῳ· ὥσπερ εἰ εἶποις,
ὅτι δεῖ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα
δυνήσεσθαι τὰ ὑπαγορευόμενα γράφειν καὶ τὰ
γεγραμμένα ἀναγιγνώσκειν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγώ
ἀκούσας, ὅτι μὲν δεῖ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι
ἡκηκόη ἄν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι οἶμαι μᾶλλον
8 ἢ ἐπισταίμην γράμματα. οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅτι
μὲν δεῖ ἐπίστασθαι γεωργίαν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ῥαδίως πέπεισμαι, τοῦτο
μέντοι εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπίσταμαι ὅπως δεῖ
9 γεωργεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα δόξειε
γεωργεῖν, ὅμοιος ἂν μοι δοκῶ εἶναι τῷ περιόντι
ιατρῷ καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντι τοὺς κάμνοντας, εἰδότες
δὲ οὐδέν ὅ τι συμφέρει τοῖς κάμνουσιν. ἴν' οὖν
μὴ τοιοῦτος ὦ, ἔφην ἐγώ, δίδασκέ με αὐτὰ τὰ
10 ἔργα τῆς γεωργίας. Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,
οὐχ ὥσπερ γε τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας κατατριβῆναι
δεῖ μαθάνοντας πρὶν ἄξια τῆς τροφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι
τὸν διδασκόμενον, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ἡ γεωργία
δύσκολός ἐστι μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἰδὼν ἂν
ἐργαζομένους, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσας, εὐθύς ἂν ἐπίσταιο,

tures noble that are beautiful, great and helpful, and yet gentle towards men.'

" 'Ah, but I think, Ischomachus, that I quite 5 understand your account of these matters—I mean how to teach a bailiff; for I think I follow your statement that you make him loyal to you, and careful and capable of ruling and honest. But 6 you said that one who is to be successful in the management of a farm must learn what to do and how and when to do it. That is the subject that we have treated, it seems to me, in a rather cursory fashion, as if you said that anyone who is to be 7 capable of writing from dictation and reading what is written must know the alphabet. For had I been told that, I should have been told, to be sure, that I must know the alphabet, but I don't think that piece of information would help me to know it. So 8 too now; I am easily convinced that a man who is to manage a farm successfully must understand farming, but that knowledge doesn't help me to understand how to farm. Were I to decide this 9 very moment to be a farmer, I think I should be like that doctor who goes round visiting the sick, but has no knowledge of the right way to treat them. Therefore, that I may not be like him, you must teach me the actual operations of farming.'

" 'Why, Socrates, farming is not troublesome to 10 learn, like other arts, which the pupil must study till he is worn out before he can earn his keep by his work. Some things you can understand by watching men at work, others by just being told,

- ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον, εἰ βούλοιο, διδάσκειν. οἶομαι
 δ', ἔφη, πάνυ καὶ λεληθέναι πολλὰ σεαυτὸν
 11 ἐπιστάμενον αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
 τεχνῖται ἀποκρύπτονταί πως τὰ ἐπικαιριώτατα
 ἧς ἕκαστος ἔχει τέχνης, τῶν δὲ γεωργῶν ὁ
 κάλλιστα μὲν φυτεύων μάλιστ' ἂν ἡδοίτο, εἴ τις
 αὐτὸν θεῶτο, ὁ κάλλιστα δὲ σπείρων ὡσαύτως·
 ὅτι δὲ ἔροιο τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων, οὐδὲν ὅτι
 12 ἂν σε ἀποκρύψαιτο ὅπως ἐποίησεν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ
 ἦθη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, γενναιοτάτους τοὺς αὐτῇ
 συνόντας ἢ γεωργία ἔοικε παρέχεσθαι.
 13 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν προοίμιον, ἔφην ἐγώ, καλὸν καὶ
 οὐχ οἶον ἀκούσαντα ἀποτρέπεσθαι τοῦ ἐρωτή-
 ματος· σὺ δὲ ὅτι εὐπετές ἐστι μαθεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο
 πολὺ μοι μᾶλλον διέξιθι αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ σοὶ
 αἰσχρὸν τὰ ῥάδια διδάσκειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
 πολὺ αἴσχιον μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ
 χρήσιμα ὄντα τυγχάνει.

XVI. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,
 τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι βούλομαί σοι, ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν
 ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσι ποικιλώτατον τῆς γεωργίας εἶναι
 οἱ λόγῳ μὲν ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν διεξιόντες, ἥκιστα
 2 δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς
 γεωργήσειν τὴν φύσιν χρήναι πρῶτον τῆς γῆς
 εἰδέναι.

Ὅρθῶς γε, ἔφην ἐγώ, ταῦτα λέγοντες. ὁ γὰρ
 μὴ εἰδώς, ὅτι δύναται ἢ γῆ φέρειν, οὐδ' ὅτι
 σπείρειν οἶομαι οὐδ' ὅτι φυτεύειν δεῖ εἰδείη ἂν.
 3 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς
 τοῦτο ἐστὶ γινῶναι, ὅτι τε δύναται φέρειν καὶ
 ὅτι μὴ δύναται, ὀρῶντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ
 δένδρα. ἐπειδὰν μέντοι γινῶ τις, οὐκέτι συμφέρει

well enough to teach another if you wish. And I believe that you know a good deal about it yourself, without being aware of the fact. The truth is 11 that, whereas other artists conceal more or less the most important points in their own art, the farmer who plants best is most pleased when he is being watched, so is he who sows best. Question him about any piece of work well done : and he will tell you exactly how he did it. So farming, Socrates, 12 more than any other calling, seems to produce a generous disposition in its followers.'

"‘An excellent preamble,’ I cried, ‘and not of a 13 sort to damp the hearer’s curiosity. Come, describe it to me, all the more because it is so simple to learn. For it is no disgrace to you to teach elementary lessons, but far more a disgrace to me not to understand them, especially if they are really useful.’”

XVI. “‘First then, Socrates, I want to show you that what is called the most complicated problem in agriculture by the authors who write most accurately on the theory of the subject, but are not practical farmers, is really a simple matter. For 2 they tell us that to be a successful farmer one must first know the nature of the soil.’

"‘Yes, and they are right,’ I remarked ; ‘for if you don’t know what the soil is capable of growing, you can’t know, I suppose, what to plant or what to sow.’

"‘Well then,’ said Ischomachus, ‘you can tell by 3 looking at the crops and trees on another man’s land what the soil can and what it cannot grow. But when you have found out, it is useless to fight

- θεομαχεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὅτου δέοιτο αὐτός, τοῦτο
 σπείρων καὶ φυτεύων μᾶλλον ἂν ἔχοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
 4 ἢ ὅ τι ἡ γῇ ἥδοιτο φύουσα καὶ τρέφουσα. ἦν δ'
 ἄρα δι' ἀργίαν τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτὴν μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν
 ἐαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐπιδεικνύναι, ἔστι καὶ παρὰ
 γείτονος τόπου πολλάκις ἀληθέστερα περὶ αὐτῆς
 γινῶναι ἢ παρὰ γείτονος ἀνθρώπου πυθέσθαι.
 5 καὶ χερσεύουσα δὲ ὅμως ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν αὐτῆς
 φύσιν· ἡ γὰρ τὰ ἄγρια καλὰ φύουσα δύναται
 θεραπευομένη καὶ τὰ ἥμερα καλὰ ἐκφέρειν. φύσιν
 μὲν δὴ γῆς οὕτως καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ ἔμπειροι
 γεωργίας ὅμως δύνανται διαγιγνώσκειν.
 6 Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε,
 ἱκανῶς ἤδη μοι δοκῶ ἀποθεταρρηκέναι, ὥς οὐ δεῖ
 φοβούμενον, μὴ οὐ γινῶ τῆς γῆς φύσιν, ἀπέχεσθαι
 7 γεωργίας. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔφην, ἀνεμνήσθην τὸ τῶν
 ἀλιέων, ὅτι θαλαττουργοὶ ὄντες καὶ οὔτε κατα-
 στήσαντες ἐπὶ θέαν οὔθ' ἥσυχοι βαδίζοντες, ἀλλὰ
 παρατρέχοντες ἅμα τοὺς ἀγρούς, ὅταν ὀρώσι
 τοὺς καρπούς ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὅμως οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ἀπο-
 φαίνεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅποια τε ἀγαθὴ ἐστὶ καὶ
 ὅποια κακὴ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ψέγουσι, τὴν δ'
 ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ πάνυ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐμπείροις
 γεωργίας ὀρῶ αὐτοὺς τὰ πλείιστα κατὰ ταῦτὰ
 ἀποφαινομένους περὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς.
 8 Πόθεν οὖν βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄρξωμαί
 σε τῆς γεωργίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν; οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι
 ἐπισταμένῳ σοι πάνυ πολλὰ φράσω ὥς δεῖ
 γεωργεῖν.
 9 Ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε,
 πρῶτον ἂν ἡδέως μανθάνειν, φιλοσόφου γὰρ
 μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἀνδρός, ὅπως ἂν ἐγώ, εἰ βουλοίμην,

against the gods. For you are not likely to get a better yield from the land by sowing and planting what you want instead of the crops and trees that the land prefers. If it happens that the land does 4 not declare its own capabilities because the owners are lazy, you can often gather more correct information from a neighbouring plot than from a neighbouring proprietor. Yes, and even if the land lies 5 waste, it reveals its nature. For if the wild stuff growing on the land is of fine quality, then by good farming the soil is capable of yielding cultivated crops of fine quality. So the nature of the soil can be ascertained even by the novice who has no experience of farming.'

"Well, I think I am now confident, Ischomachus, 6 that I need not avoid farming from fear of not knowing the nature of the soil. The fact is, I am 7 reminded that fishermen, though their business is in the sea, and they neither stop the boat to take a look nor slow down, nevertheless, when they see the crops as they scud past the farms, do not hesitate to express an opinion about the land, which is the good and which is the bad sort, now condemning, now praising it. And, what is more, I notice that in their opinion about the good land they generally agree exactly with experienced farmers.'

"Then, Socrates, let me refresh your memory on 8 the subject of agriculture; but where do you wish me to begin? For I am aware that I shall tell you very much that you know already about the right method of farming.'

"First, Ischomachus, I think I should be glad 9 to learn, for this is the philosopher's way, how I am

γῆν ἐργαζόμενος πλείστας κριθὰς καὶ πλείστους πυρούς λαμβάνοιμι.

10 Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν οἶσθα, ὅτι τῷ σπόρῳ νεὸν δεῖ ὑπεργάζεσθαι ;

11 Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Εἰ οὖν ἀρχοίμεθα, ἔφη, ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν χειμῶνος ;

Ἀλλὰ πηλὸς ἂν εἴη, ἐγὼ ἔφην.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦ θέρους σοι δοκεῖ ;

Σκληρά, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἢ γῆ ἔσται κινεῖν τῷ ζεύγει.

12 Κινδυνεύει ἕαρος, ἔφη, εἶναι τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀρκτέον.

Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐστὶ μάλιστα χεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν τηνικαῦτα κινουμένην.

Καὶ τὴν πόαν γε ἀναστρεφόμενην, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τηνικαῦτα κόπρον μὲν τῇ γῇ ἤδη παρέχειν, καρπὸν δ' οὐπω καταβαλεῖν ὥστε
13 φύεσθαι. οἶμαι γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτό σ' ἔτι γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι εἰ μέλλει ἀγαθὴ ἢ νεὸς ἔσεσθαι, ὕλης τε δεῖ καθαρὰν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ ὀπτὴν ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

Πάνν γε, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἔχειν.

14 Ταῦτ' οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ ἄλλως πως νομίζεις μᾶλλον ἂν γίγνεσθαι ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ θέρει ὅτι πλειστάκις μεταβάλοι τις τὴν γῆν ;

Οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ἔφην, ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ μὲν ὕλη ἐπιπολάζοι καὶ αὐαίνοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἢ δὲ γῆ ὀπτῶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ εἴ τις αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θέρει καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κινοίῃ τῷ ζεύγει.

to cultivate the land if I want to get the heaviest crops of wheat and barley out of it.'

" 'Well, you know, I take it, that fallow must 10 be prepared for sowing?'

" 'Yes, I know.'

" 'Suppose, then, we start ploughing in winter?' 11

" 'Why, the land will be a bog!'

" 'How about starting in summer?'

" 'The land will be hard to plough up.'

" 'It seems that spring is the season for beginning 12 this work.'

" 'Yes, the land is likely to be more friable if it is broken up then.'

" 'Yes, and the grass turned up is long enough at that season to serve as manure, but, not having shed seed, it will not grow. You know also, I 13 presume, that fallow land can't be satisfactory unless it is clear of weeds and thoroughly baked in the sun?'

" 'Yes, certainly; that is essential, I think.'

" 'Do you think that there is any better way of 14 securing that than by turning the land over as often as possible in summer?'

" 'Nay, I know for certain that if you want the weeds to lie on the surface and wither in the heat, and the land to be baked by the sun, the surest way is to plough it up at midday in mid-summer.'

15 Εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωποι σκάπτουντες τὴν νεὸν ποιοῖεν, ἔφη, οὐκ εὐδηλον, ὅτι καὶ τούτους δίχα δεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ὕλην ;

Καὶ τὴν μέν γε ὕλην, ἔφην ἐγώ, καταβάλλειν, ὡς αὐαίνηται, ἐπιπολῆς, τὴν δὲ γῆν στρέφειν, ὡς ἢ ὠμὴ αὐτῆς ὀπτᾶται.

XVII. Περὶ μὲν τῆς νεοῦ ὁράς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ.

Δοκεῖ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Περὶ γε μέντοι τοῦ σπόρου ἄλλο τι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, γιγνώσκεις ἢ τὴν ὥραν σπείρειν, ἥς πάντες μὲν οἱ πρόσθεν ἄνθρωποι πείραν λαβόντες, πάντες δὲ οἱ νῦν λαμβάνοντες ἐγνώκασιν κρατίστην
2 εἶναι ; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ μετοπωρινὸς χρόνος ἔλθῃ, πάντες που οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν, ὅποτε βρέξας τὴν γῆν ἀφήσει αὐτοὺς σπείρειν.

Ἐγνώκασιν δὴ γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν ξηρᾷ σπείρειν ἐκόντες εἶναι πάντες ἄνθρωποι, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαῖς ζημίαις παλαίσαντες οἱ πρὶν κελευσθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σπείραντες.

3 Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὁμογνῶμονοῦμεν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

Ἄ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτω γίγνεται ὁμονοεῖν· οἷον ἅμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι παχέα ἱμάτια φορεῖν, ἢν δύνωνται, καὶ πῦρ κάειν ἅμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ, ἢν ξύλα ἔχωσιν.

4 Ἄλλ' ἐν τῷδε, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, πολλοὶ ἤδη διαφέρονται, ὦ Σώκρατες, περὶ τοῦ σπόρου, πότερον ὁ πρῶιμος κράτιστος ἢ ὁ μέσος ἢ ὁ ὀψιμώτατος.

“‘And if men prepare the fallow by digging, is 15 it not obvious that they too must separate the weeds from the soil?’

“‘Yes, and they must throw the weeds on the surface to wither, and turn up the ground so that the lower spit¹ may be baked.’”

XVII. “‘You see, then, Socrates, that we agree about the fallow.’

“‘It does seem so, to be sure.’

“‘And now as to the time for sowing, Socrates. Is it not your opinion that the time to sow is that which has been invariably found to be the best by past experience, and is universally approved by present practice? For as soon as autumn ends, all 2 men, I suppose, look anxiously to God, to see when he will send rain on the earth and make them free to sow.’

“‘Yes, Ischomachus, all men have made up their minds, of course, not to sow in dry ground if they can help it, those who sowed without waiting to be bidden by God having had to wrestle with many losses.’

“‘So far, then,’ said Ischomachus, ‘all the world 3 is of one mind.’

“‘Yes,’ said I, ‘where God is our teacher we all come to think alike. For example, all agree that it is better to wear warm clothes in winter, if they can, and all agree on the desirability of having a fire, if they have wood.’

“‘But,’ said Ischomachus, ‘when we come to the 4 question whether sowing is best done early or very late or at the mid-season, we find much difference of opinion, Socrates.’

¹ Literally, the “crude land.”

Ἄλλ' ὁ θεός, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐ τεταγμένως τὸ ἔτος ἄγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῷ πρωίμῳ κάλλιστα, τὸ δὲ τῷ μέσῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ὀψιμωτάτῳ.

5 Σὺ οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πότερον ἡγῇ κρεῖττον εἶναι ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν σπόρων χρῆσθαι ἐκλεξάμενον, εἴν τε πολὺν εἴν τε ὀλίγον σπέρμα σπείρητις, ἢ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωιμωτάτου μέχρι τοῦ ὀψιμωτάτου σπείρειν ;

6 Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι παντὸς μετέχειν τοῦ σπόρου. πολὺν γὰρ νομίζω κρεῖττον εἶναι ἀεὶ ἀρκοῦντα σῖτον λαμβάνειν ἢ ποτὲ μὲν πάνυ πολύν, ποτὲ δὲ μῆδ' ἱκανόν.

Καὶ τοῦτο τοίνυν σύγε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁμογνωμονεῖς ἐμοὶ ὁ μανθάνων τῷ διδάσκοντι, καὶ ταῦτα πρόσθεν ἐμοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος.

7 Τί γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐν τῷ ρίπτειν τὸ σπέρμα ποικίλη τέχνη ἔνεστι ;

Πάντως, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισκεψώμεθα καὶ τοῦτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς δεῖ ρίπτεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ σύ που οἶσθα, ἔφη.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐώρακα, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Ῥίπτειν δέ γε, ἔφη, οἱ μὲν ὁμαλῶς δύνανται, οἱ δ' οὔ.

Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἤδη μελέτης δεῖται, ὥσπερ τοῖς κιθαρισταῖς ἢ χεῖρ, ὅπως δύνηται ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ.

8 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· ἦν δέ γε ἦ, ἔφη, ἡ γῆ ἢ μὲν λεπτοτέρα, ἢ δὲ παχυτέρα ;

Τί τοῦτο, ἐγὼ ἔφην, λέγεις ; ἄρά γε τὴν μὲν λεπτοτέραν ὅπερ ἀσθενεστέραν, τὴν δὲ παχυτέραν ὅπερ ἰσχυροτέραν ;

“‘And God,’ said I, ‘does not regulate the year by fixed laws; but in one year it may be advantageous to sow early, in another very late, in another at mid-season.’

“‘Then do you think, Socrates, that it is better 5 to select one of these times for sowing, whether you sow much or little, or to begin at the earliest moment and continue sowing to the latest?’

“‘For my part, Ischomachus, I think it is best to 6 sow for succession throughout the season. For in my opinion it is much better to get enough food at all times than too much at one time and not enough at another.’

“‘Here again, then, Socrates, pupil and teacher are of one opinion; and, moreover, you, the pupil, are first in stating this opinion.’

“‘Well now, is casting the seed a complicated 7 problem?’

“‘By all means let us take that also into consideration, Socrates. I presume that you know as well as I that the seed must be cast by the hand?’

“‘Yes, I have seen it.’

“‘Ah,’ he said, ‘but some men can cast evenly, and some cannot.’

“‘Then sowers no less than lyre-players need practice, that the hand may be the servant of the will.’

“‘Certainly. But suppose that some of the land 8 is rather light and some rather heavy?’

“‘What do you mean by that?’ I interrupted. ‘By “light” do you mean “weak,” and by “heavy,” “strong”?’

Τοῦτ', ἔφη, λέγω, καὶ ἐρωτῶ γέ σε, πότερον ἴσον ἂν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γῇ σπέρμα διδοίης ἢ ποτέρα ἂν πλείον.

- 9 Τῷ μὲν οἴνῳ, ἔφην, ἔγωγε νομίζω τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλείον ἐπιχεῖν ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλείον βάρος, εἰ δέ τι φέρειν, ἐπιτιθέναι, καὶ δέ τι τρέφεσθαι τινος, τοῖς δυνατωτέροις τρέφειν ἂν τοὺς πλείους προστάξαιμι. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀσθενὴς γῇ ἰσχυροτέρα, ἔφην ἐγώ, γίγνεται, ἦν τις πλείονα καρπὸν αὐτῇ ἐμβάλλῃ, ὥσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια, τοῦτο σύ με δίδασκε.
- 10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ παίζεις μὲν σύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. εὖ γε μέντοι, ἔφη, ἴσθι, ἦν μὲν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ σπέρμα τῇ γῇ ἔπειτα ἐν ᾧ πολλὴν ἔχει τροφήν ἢ γῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χλόης γενομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος καταστρέψῃς αὐτὸ πάλιν, τοῦτο γίγνεται σίτος τῇ γῇ, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κόπρου ἰσχὺς αὐτῇ ἐγγίγνεται· ἦν μέντοι ἐκτρέφειν ἕως τὴν γῆν διὰ τέλους τὸ σπέρμα εἰς καρπὸν, χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀσθενεῖ γῇ ἐς τέλος πολλὸν καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ συνὶ δὲ ἀσθενεῖ χαλεπὸν πολλοὺς ἀδρούς χοίρους ἐκτρέφειν.
- 11 Λέγεις σύ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῇ ἀσθενεστέρᾳ γῇ μείον δεῖν τὸ σπέρμα ἐμβαλεῖν ;
Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ σύ γε συνομολογεῖς λέγων, ὅτι νομίζεις τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις πᾶσι μείω προστάττειν πράγματα.
- 12 Τοὺς δὲ δὴ σκαλέας, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τίνος ἔνεκα ἐμβάλλετε τῷ σίτῳ ;
Οἴσθα δὴπου, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολλὰ ὕδατα γίγνεται.

“ ‘ Yes, I do ; and I ask you whether you would give the same quantity of seed to both kinds, or to which you would give more ? ’

“ ‘ Well, my principle is this : the stronger the 9 wine, the more water I add ; the stronger the bearer, the heavier the burden I put on his back ; and if it is necessary to feed others, I should require the richest men to feed the greatest number. But tell me whether weak land, like draught animals, becomes stronger when you put more corn into it.’

“ ‘ Ah, you’re joking, Socrates,’ he said, laughing, 10 ‘ but allow me to tell you that, if after putting in the seed you plough it in again as soon as the blade appears when the land is obtaining plenty of nourishment from the sky, it makes food for the soil, and strengthens it like manure. If, on the other hand, you let the seed go on growing on the land until it is holled, it’s hard for weak land to yield much grain in the end. It’s hard, you know, for a weak sow to rear a big litter of fine pigs.’

“ ‘ Do you mean, Ischomachus, that the weaker 11 the soil the less seed should be put into it ? ’

“ ‘ Yes, of course, Socrates ; and you agree when you say that your invariable custom is to make the burden light that is to be borne by the weak.’

“ ‘ But the hoers, now, Ischomachus, why do you 12 put them on the corn ? ’

“ ‘ I presume you know that in winter there is a heavy rainfall ? ’

Τί γὰρ οὐκ ; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Οὐκοῦν θῶμεν τοῦ σίτου καὶ κατακρυφθῆναί τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰλύος ἐπιχυθείσης καὶ ψιλωθῆναί τινας ῥίζας ὑπὸ ρεύματος. καὶ ὕλη δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δήπου συνεξορμᾷ τῷ σίτῳ καὶ παρέχει πνιγμὸν αὐτῷ.

13 Πάντα, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἰκὸς ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐπικουρίας τινὸς δεῖσθαι ὁ σίτος ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν σοι ἐπικουρῆσαι ;

Ἐπικουφίσαντες, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὴν γῆν.

Τί δέ, ἔφη, τῷ ἐψιλωμένῳ τὰς ῥίζας ;

Ἀντιπροσαμνησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἂν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

14 Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ἦν ὕλη πνίγη συνεξορμῶσα τῷ σίτῳ καὶ διαρπάζουσα τοῦ σίτου τὴν τροφήν, ὥσπερ οἱ κηφῆνες διαρπάζουσιν ἄχρηστοι ὄντες τῶν μελιττῶν ἃ ἂν ἐκείναι ἐργασάμεναι τροφήν καταθῶνται ;

Ἐκκόπτειν ἂν νῆ Δία δέοι τὴν ὕλην, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὥσπερ τοὺς κηφῆνας ἐκ τῶν σμηνῶν ἀφαιρεῖν.

15 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, εἰκότως σοι δοκοῦμεν ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς σκαλέας ;

Πάνυ γε. ἀτὰρ ἐνθυμοῦμαι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ εὖ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπάγεσθαι. πάνυ γὰρ σύ με ἐξώργισας πρὸς τὴν ὕλην τοὺς κηφῆνας εἰπών, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὕλης ἔλεγες.

XVIII. Ἀτὰρ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐκ τούτου ἄρα θερίζειν εἰκός. δίδασκε οὖν εἴ τι ἔχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο.

“ ‘Of course.’

“ ‘Let us assume, then, that part of the corn is waterlogged and covered with mud, and some of the roots are exposed by flooding. And it often happens, you know, that in consequence of rain weeds spring up among the corn and choke it.’

“ ‘All these things are likely to happen.’ 13

“ ‘Then don’t you think that in such circumstances the corn needs prompt succour?’

“ ‘Certainly.’

“ ‘What should be done, do you think, to succour the part that is under the mud?’

“ ‘The soil should be lifted.’

“ ‘And the part that has its roots exposed?’

“ ‘It should be earthed up.’

“ ‘What if weeds are springing up, choking the 14 corn and robbing it of its food, much as useless drones rob bees of the food they have laid in store by their industry?’

“ ‘The weeds must be cut, of course, just as the drones must be removed from the hive.’

“ ‘Don’t you think, then, that we have good 15 reason for putting on men to hoe?’

“ ‘No doubt; but I am reflecting, Ischomachus, on the advantage of bringing in an apt simile. For you roused my wrath against the weeds by mentioning the drones, much more than when you spoke of mere weeds.’ ”

XVIII. “ ‘However,’ I continued, ‘after this comes reaping, I fancy. So give me any information you can with regard to that too.’

Ἦν μή γε φανῆς, ἔφη, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ταῦτ' ἔμοι ἐπιστάμενος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τέμνειν τὸν σῖτον δεῖ, οἶσθα.

Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω ; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Πότερα οὖν τέμνεις, ἔφη, στὰς ἔνθα πνεῖ ἄνεμος ἡ ἀντίος ;

Οὐκ ἀντίος, ἔφην, ἔγωγε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γίγνεται ἀντίου ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων θερίζειν.

2 Καὶ ἀκροτομοίης δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἡ παρὰ γῆν τέμνοις ;

Ἦν μὲν βραχὺς ἡ ὁ κάλαμος τοῦ σίτου, ἔγωγ', ἔφην, κάτωθεν ἂν τέμνοιμι, ἵνα ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄχυρα μᾶλλον γίγνηται· ἐὰν δὲ ὑψηλὸς ἦ, νομίζω ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν μεσοτομῶν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἀλοῶντες μοχθῶσι περιττὸν πόνον μήτε οἱ λικμῶντες ὧν οὐδὲν προσδέονται. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ λειφθὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ κατακαυθὲν συνωφελεῖν ἂν τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς κόπρον ἐμβληθὲν τὴν κόπρον συμπληθύνειν.

3 Ὅρᾳς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς ἀλίσκη ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καὶ περὶ θερισμοῦ εἰδὼς ἅπερ ἐγώ ;

Κινδυνεύω, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ βούλομαί γε σκέψασθαι, εἰ καὶ ἀλοᾶν ἐπίσταμαι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τοῦτο μὲν οἶσθα, ὅτι ὑποζυγίῳ ἀλοῶσι τὸν σῖτον.

4 Τί δ' οὐκ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἶδα ; καὶ ὑποζυγία γε καλούμενα πάντα ὁμοίως, βούς, ἡμίονους, ἵππους.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ταῦτα μὲν ἡγῇ τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰδέναί, πατεῖν τὸν σῖτον ἐλαυνόμενα ;

Τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὑποζυγία εἰδείη ;

5 Ὅπως δὲ τὸ δεόμενον κόψουσι καὶ ὁμαλιεῖται ὁ ἀλοητός, τίνι τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες ; ἔφη.

“ ‘ Yes—unless I find that you know just what I do about that subject too. You know, then, that the corn must be cut.’

“ ‘ I know that, naturally.’

“ ‘ Are you for standing with your back to the wind when you cut corn, or facing it?’

“ ‘ Not facing it, no! I think it is irritating both to the eyes and to the hands to reap with cornstalks and spikes blowing in your face.’

“ ‘ And would you cut near the top or close to the 2 ground?’

“ ‘ If the stalk is short, I should cut low down, so that the straw may be more useful; but if it is long, I think it would be right to cut in the middle, in order that the threshers and winnowers may not spend needless trouble on what they don’t want. I imagine that the stubble may be burnt with advantage to the land, or thrown on the manure heap to increase its bulk.’

“ ‘ Do you notice, Socrates, that you stand con- 3 victed of knowing just what I know about reaping too?’

“ ‘ Yes, it seems so; and I want to know besides whether I understand threshing as well.’

“ ‘ Then you know this much, that draught animals are used in threshing?’

“ ‘ Yes, of course I do; and that the term draught 4 animals includes oxen, mules and horses.’

“ ‘ Then do you not think that all the beasts know is how to trample on the corn as they are driven?’

“ ‘ Why, what more should draught animals know?’

“ ‘ And who sees that they tread out the right 5 corn, and that the threshing is level, Socrates?’

Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῖς ἐπαλώσταις. στρέφοντες γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποβάλλοντες τὰ ἄτριπτα αἰεὶ δῆλον ὅτι μάλιστα ὁμαλίζοιεν ἂν τὸν δῖνον καὶ τάχιστα ἀνύτοιεν.

Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ λείπη γιγνώσκων.

- 6 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐκ τούτου δὴ καθαροῦμεν τὸν σῖτον λικμῶντες.

Καὶ λέξον γέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἥ οἶσθα, ὅτι ἦν ἐκ τοῦ προσηνέμου μέρους τῆς ἄλῳ ἀρχῇ, δι' ὅλης τῆς ἄλῳ οἴσεται σοι τὰ ἄχυρα ;

Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ.

- 7 Οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς καὶ ἐπιπίπτειν, ἔφη, αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν σῖτον.

Πολὺ γάρ ἐστιν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ ὑπερενεχθῆναι τὰ ἄχυρα ὑπὲρ τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἄλῳ.

Ἦν δέ τις, ἔφη, λικμᾶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηνέμου ἀρχόμενος ;

Δῆλον, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀχυροδόκῃ ἔσται τὰ ἄχυρα.

- 8 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθάρης, ἔφη, τὸν σῖτον μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσεος τῆς ἄλῳ, πότερον εὐθὺς οὕτω κεχυμένου τοῦ σίτου λικμήσεις τὰ ἄχυρα τὰ λοιπὰ ἢ συνώσας τὸν καθαρὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλον ὥς εἰς στενώτατον ;

Συνώσας νῆ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸν καθαρὸν σῖτον, ἵν' ὑπερφέρηταί μοι τὰ ἄχυρα εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἄλῳ καὶ μὴ δις ταῦτά ἄχυρα δέη λικμᾶν.

- 9 Σὺ μὲν δη ἄρα, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, σῖτόν γε ὥς ἂν τάχιστα καθαρὸς γένοιτο καὶ ἄλλον δύναιο διδάσκειν.

“ ‘The threshers, clearly. By continually turning the untrodden corn and throwing it under the animal’s feet they will, of course, keep it level on the floor and take least time over the work.’

“ ‘So far, then, your knowledge is quite as good as mine.’

“ ‘Will not our next task be to clean the corn by 6 winnowing, Ischomachus?’

“ ‘Yes, Socrates ; and tell me, do you know that if you start on the windward side of the floor, you will find the husks carried right across the floor?’

“ ‘It must be so.’

“ ‘Is it not likely, then, that some will fall on 7 the grain?’

“ ‘Yes, it is a long way for the husks to be blown, right over the grain to the empty part of the floor.’

“ ‘But what if you start winnowing against the wind?’

“ ‘Clearly the chaff will at once fall in the right place.’

“ ‘And as soon as you have cleaned the corn 8 over one half of the floor, will you at once go on throwing up the rest of the chaff while the corn lies about just as it is, or will you first sweep the clean corn towards the edge,¹ so as to occupy the smallest space?’

“ ‘Of course I shall first sweep the clean corn up, so that my chaff may be carried across into the empty space, and I may not have to throw up the same chaff twice.’

“ ‘Well, Socrates, it seems you are capable of 9 teaching the quickest way of cleaning corn.’

¹ The meaning of *πῶλος* here is really unknown, I believe.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐλελήθη ἑμαυτὸν ἐπιστάμενος. καὶ πάλαι ἐννοῶ ἄρα, εἰ λέληθα καὶ χρυσοχοεῖν καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ ζωγραφεῖν ἐπιστάμενος. ἐδίδαξε γὰρ οὔτε ταῦτά με οὐδείς οὔτε γεωργεῖν· ὁρῶ δ' ὥσπερ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ἐργαζομένους ἀνθρώπους.

- 10 Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος, ἔλεγον ἐγώ σοι πάλαι, ὅτι καὶ ταύτη εἷη γενναιοτάτη ἢ γεωργικὴ τέχνη, ὅτι καὶ ῥᾶστη ἐστὶ μαθεῖν ;

Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἶδα, ὦ Ἰσχύμαχε· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ σπόρον ἐπιστάμενος ἄρα ἐλελήθειν ἑμαυτὸν ἐπιστάμενος.

XIX. Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης καὶ ἡ τῶν δένδρων φυτεία ;

Ἔστι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος.

Πῶς ἂν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν σπόρον ἐπισταίμην, τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν φυτείαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ;

- 2 Οὐ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος, ἐπίστασαι ;

Πῶς ; ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὅστις μήτ' ἐν ὁποίᾳ τῇ γῇ δεῖ φυτεύειν οἶδα μήτε ὁπόσον βάθος ὀρύττειν¹ μήτε ὁπόσον πλάτος μήτε ὁπόσον μῆκος τὸ φυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν μήτε ὅπως ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ κείμενον τὸ φυτὸν μάλιστ' ἂν βλαστάνοι.

- 3 Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος, μάνθανε ὅ τι μὴ ἐπίστασαι. βοθύνους μὲν γὰρ οἶους ὀρύττουσι τοῖς φυτοῖς, οἶδ' ὅτι ἐώρακας, ἔφη.

Καὶ πολλάκις ἔγωγ', ἔφην.

Ἦδη τινὰ οὖν αὐτῶν εἶδες βαθύτερον τριπόδου ;

¹ ὀρύττειν τὸ φυτὸν Sauppe with the MSS. : but either ὀρύττειν τῷ φυτῷ should be read or τὸ φυτὸν should go.

“ ‘I really wasn’t aware that I understood these things ; and so I have been thinking for some time whether my knowledge extends to smelting gold, playing the flute, and painting pictures. For I have never been taught these things any more than I have been taught farming ; but I have watched men working at these arts, just as I have watched them farming.’ ”

“ ‘And didn’t I tell you just now that farming is 10 the noblest art for this among other reasons, because it is the easiest to learn?’ ”

“ ‘Enough, Ischomachus ; I know. I understood about sowing, it seems, but I wasn’t aware that I understood.’ ”

XIX. “ ‘However, is the planting of fruit trees another branch of agriculture?’ I continued.

“ ‘It is, indeed,’ answered Ischomachus.

“ ‘Then how can I understand all about sowing, and yet know nothing of planting?’ ”

“ ‘What, don’t you understand it?’ ” 2

“ ‘How can I, when I don’t know what kind of soil to plant in, nor how deep a hole to dig, nor how broad, nor how much of the plant should be buried, nor how it must be set in the ground to grow best?’ ”

“ ‘Come then, learn whatever you don’t know. 3 I am sure you have seen the sort of trenches they dig for plants.’ ”

“ ‘Yes, often enough.’ ”

“ ‘Did you ever see one more than three feet deep?’ ”

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί' ἔγωγ', ἔφην, πενθημιποδίου.

Τί δὲ τὸ πλάτος ἤδη τινὰ τριπόδου πλέον εἶδες ;

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, διπόδου.

- 4 Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη, καὶ τόδε ἀπόκριναί μοι, ἤδη τινὰ εἶδες τὸ βάθος ἐλάττονα ποδιαίου ;

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί', ἔφην, ἔγωγε τριημιποδίου. καὶ γὰρ ἐξορύττοιο ἂν σκαπτόμενα, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ φυτά, εἰ λίαν γε οὕτως ἐπιπολῆς πεφυτευμένα εἴη.

- 5 Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἱκανῶς οἶσθα, ὅτι οὔτε βαθύτερον πενθημιποδίου ὀρύττουσιν οὔτε βραχύτερον τριημιποδίου.

Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦτο ὀρᾶσθαι οὕτω γε καταφανὲς ὄν.

- 6 Τί δέ, ἔφη, ξηροτέραν καὶ ὑγροτέραν γῆν γιγνώσκεις ὀρώων ;

Ξηρὰ μὲν γοῦν μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἶναι ἡ περὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία, ὑγρὰ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἔλει καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία.

- 7 Πότερα οὖν, ἔφη, ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ ἂν βαθὺν ὀρύττοις βόθρον τῷ φυτῷ ἢ ἐν τῇ ὑγρᾷ ;

Ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ νὴ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ· ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ ὑγρᾷ ὀρύττων βαθὺν ὕδωρ ἂν εὐρίσκοις καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναιο ἔτι ἐν ὕδατι φυτεύειν.

Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, λέγειν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὰν ὀρωρυγμένοι ὦσιν οἱ βόθροι, ὀπηνίκα δεῖ τιθέναι ἑκάτερα τὰ φυτά, ἤδη εἶδες ;

Μάλιστα, ἔφην ἐγώ.

“‘No, of course not—nor more than two and a half.’

“‘Well, did you ever see one more than three feet broad?’

“‘Of course not, nor more than two feet.’

“‘Come then, answer this question too. Did 4 you ever see one less than a foot deep?’

“‘Never less than a foot and a half, of course. For the plants would come out of the ground when it is stirred about them if they were put in so much too shallow.’

“‘Then you know this well enough, Socrates, 5 that the trenches are never more than two and a half feet deep, nor less than a foot and a half.’

“‘A thing so obvious as that can’t escape one’s eyes.’

“‘Again, can you distinguish between dry and 6 wet ground by using your eyes?’

“‘Oh, I should think that the land round Lycabettus and any like it is an example of dry ground, and the low-lying land at Phalerum and any like it of wet.’

“‘In which then would you dig the hole deep for 7 your plant, in the dry or the wet ground?’

“‘In the dry, of course; because if you dug deep in the wet, you would come on water, and water would stop your planting.’

“‘I think you are quite right. Now suppose the holes are dug; have you ever noticed how ¹ the plants for each kind of soil should be put in?’

“‘Oh, yes.’

¹ There must be something wrong with the text here. The MSS. give *δπηνίκα*, “just when,” but that has nothing to do with the matter in hand. Is something lost?

- 8 Σὺ οὖν βουλόμενος ὡς τάχιστα φῦναι αὐτὰ πότερον ὑποβαλὼν ἂν τῆς γῆς τῆς εἰργασμένης οἶει τὸν βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος θᾶπτον χωρεῖν διὰ τῆς μαλακῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀργοῦ εἰς τὸ σκληρόν ;
 Δῆλον, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς εἰργασμένης θᾶπτον ἂν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀργοῦ βλαστάνοι.
- 9 Οὐκοῦν ὑποβλητέα ἂν εἴη τῷ φυτῷ γῇ.
 Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει ; ἔφην ἐγώ.
 Πότερα δὲ ὅλον τὸ κλήμα ὀρθὸν τιθεὶς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἡγῇ μᾶλλον ἂν ῥιζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιόν τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένῃ γῇ θείης ἂν, ὥστε κεῖσθαι ὥσπερ γάμμα ὑπτιον ;
- 10 Οὕτω νῆ Δία· πλείονες γὰρ ἂν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κατὰ γῆς εἶεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἄνω ὀρῶ βλαστάνοντα τὰ φυτά. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς οὖν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ φυομένων βλαστῶν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ταχὺ ἂν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι βλαστάνειν.
- 11 Κατὰ ταῦτά τοίνυν, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ τούτων γιγνώσκων ἐμοὶ τυγχάνεις. ἐπαμήσαίω δ' ἂν μόνον, ἔφη, τὴν γῆν ἢ καὶ σάξαις ἂν εὖ μάλα περὶ τὸ φυτόν ;
 Σάπτοιμ' ἂν, ἔφην, νῆ Δί' ἐγώ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ σεσαγμένον εἴη, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πηλὸς ἂν γίγνοιτο ἢ ἄσακτος γῇ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηρὰ μέχρι βυθοῦ, ὥστε τὰ φυτὰ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος σήπεσθαι μὲν δι' ὑγρότητα, αὐαίνεσθαι δὲ διὰ ξηρότητα, θερμαινομένων τῶν ῥιζῶν.
- 12 Καὶ περὶ ἀμπέλων ἄρα σύγε, ἔφη, φυτείας, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐμοὶ πάντα γιγνώσκων τυγχάνεις.

“‘Then assuming that you want them to grow as 8
quickly as possible, do you think that if you put
some prepared soil under them the cuttings will
strike sooner through soft earth into the hard stuff,
or through unbroken ground?’

“‘Clearly, they will form roots more quickly in
prepared soil than in unbroken ground.’

“‘Then soil must be placed below the plant?’ 9

“‘No doubt it must.’

“‘And if you set the whole cutting upright,
pointing to the sky, do you think it would take root
better, or would you lay part of it slanting under
the soil that has been put below, so that it lies like
a *gamma* upside down?’

“‘Of course I would; for then there would be 10
more buds underground; and I notice that plants
shoot from the buds above ground, so I suppose that
the buds under the ground do just the same; and
with many shoots forming underground, the plant
will make strong and rapid growth, I suppose.’

“‘Then it turns out that on these points too 11
your opinion agrees with mine. But would you
merely heap up the earth, or make it firm round
the plant?’

“‘I should make it firm, of course; for if it were
not firm, I feel sure that the rain would make mud
of the loose earth, and the sun would dry it up from
top to bottom; so the plants would run the risk of
damping off through too much water, or withering
from too much heat at the roots.’

“‘About vine¹ planting then, Socrates, your 12
views are again exactly the same as mine.’

¹ The mention of the vine comes in so abruptly that one
again suspects the loss of something in the text.

Ἡ καὶ συκῆν, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτως δεῖ φυτεύειν ;

Οἶμαι δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκρόδρυα πάντα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείας καλῶς ἐχόντων τί ἂν ἀποδοκιμάσαις εἰς τὰς ἄλλας φυτείας ;

- 13 Ἐλαίαν δὲ πῶς, ἔφην ἐγώ, φυτεύσομεν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε ;

Ἀποπειρᾷ μου καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁρᾷς μὲν γὰρ δῆ, ὅτι βαθύτερος ὀρύττεται τῇ ἐλαίᾳ βόθρος· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς μάλιστα ὀρύττεται· ὁρᾷς δ', ὅτι πρέμνα πᾶσι τοῖς φυτευτηρίοις πρόσσεστιν· ὁρᾷς δ', ἔφη, τῶν φυτῶν πηλὸν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πάσαις ἐπικείμενον καὶ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν ἐστεγασμένον τὸ ἄνω.

- 14 Ὅρῳ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ταῦτα πάντα.

Καὶ ὁρῶν δῆ, ἔφη, τί αὐτῶν οὐ γιγνώσκεις ; ἢ τὸ ὄστρακον ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἄνω καταθείης ;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ὦν εἶπας, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀγνοῶ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐννοῶ, τί ποτε, ὅτε πάλαι ἦρου με συλλήβδην εἰ ἐπίσταμαι φυτεύειν, οὐκ ἔφην. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκουν ἔχειν ἂν εἰπεῖν οὐδέν, ἢ δεῖ φυτεύειν· ἐπεὶ δέ με καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον ἐπεχείρησας ἐρωτᾶν, ἀποκρίνομαί σοι, ὥς σὺ φῆς, ἅπερ σὺ γιγνώσκεις ὁ δεινὸς λεγόμενος

- 15 γεωργός. ἄρα, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἢ ἐρώτησις διδασκαλία ἐστίν ; ἄρτι γὰρ δῆ, ἔφην ἐγώ, καταμανθάνω, ἢ με ἐπηρώτησας ἕκαστα· ἄγων γάρ με δι' ὦν ἐγὼ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅμοια τούτοις ἐπιδεικνὺς ἂ

“‘Does this method of planting apply to the fig too?’ I asked.

“‘Yes, and to all other fruit trees, I think; for in planting other trees why discard anything that gives good results with the vine?’

“‘But the olive—how shall we plant that, 13 Ischomachus?’

“‘You know quite well, and are only trying to draw me out again. For I am sure you see that a deeper hole is dug for the olive (it is constantly being done on the roadside); you see also that all the growing shoots have stumps adhering to them; and you see that all the heads of the plants are coated with clay, and the part of the plant that is above ground is wrapped up.’

“‘Yes, I see all this.’

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“‘You do! Then what is there in it that you don’t understand? Is it that you don’t know how to put the crocks on the top of the clay, Socrates?’

“‘Of course there is nothing in what you have said that I don’t know, Ischomachus. But I am again set thinking what can have made me answer ‘No’ to the question you put to me a while ago, when you asked me briefly, Did I understand planting? For I thought I should have nothing to say about the right method of planting. But now that you have undertaken to question me in particular, my answers, you tell me, agree exactly with the views of a farmer so famous for his skill as yourself! Can it be that questioning is a kind of teaching, 15 Ischomachus? The fact is, I have just discovered the plan of your series of questions! You lead me by paths of knowledge familiar to me, point out things

οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἐπίστασθαι ἀναπείθεις οἶμαι, ὥς καὶ ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι.

- 16 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ περὶ ἀργυρίου ἐρωτῶν ἄν σε, πότερον καλὸν ἢ οὐ, δυναίμην ἄν σε πείσαι, ὥς ἐπίστασαι διαδοκιμάζειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ κίβδηλα ἀργύρια ; καὶ περὶ αὐλητῶν δὴ δυναίμην ἀναπεῖσαι, ὥς ἐπίστασαι αὐλεῖν, καὶ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ;

Ἴσως ἄν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γεωργεῖν ἀνέπεισάς με ὥς ἐπιστήμων εἶην, καίπερ εἰδότα, ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐδίδαξέ με ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

- 17 Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ καὶ πάλαι σοι ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἡ γεωργία οὕτω φιλάνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ πραεῖα τέχνη, ὥστε καὶ ὀρώντας καὶ ἀκούοντας ἐπιστήμονας εὐθὺς ἑαυτῆς
18 ποιεῖν. πολλὰ δ', ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὴ διδάσκει, ὥς ἄν κάλλιστά τις αὐτῇ χρῶτο. αὐτίκα ἄμπελος ἀναβαίνουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα, ὅταν ἔχη τι πλησίον δένδρον, διδάσκει ἰστάναι αὐτήν· περιπεταννύουσα δὲ τὰ οἶναρα, ὅταν ἔτι αὐτῇ ἀπαλοὶ οἱ βότρυνες ᾧσι, διδάσκει σκιάζειν τὰ ἡλιούμενα
19 ταύτην τὴν ὥραν· ὅταν δὲ καιρὸς ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἤδη γλυκαίνεσθαι τὰς σταφυλὰς, φυλλορροοῦσα διδάσκει ἑαυτὴν ψιλοῦν καὶ πεπαίνειν τὴν ὀπώραν, διὰ πολυφορίαν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πέποντας δεικνύουσα βότρυν, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι ὠμοτέρους φέρουσα διδάσκει τρυγᾶν ἑαυτήν, ὥσπερ τὰ σῦκα συκάζουσι, τὸ ὀργῶν αἰεί.

XX. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Πῶς οὖν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, εἰ οὕτω γε καὶ ῥάδιά ἐστι μαθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασιν ἃ
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like what I know, and bring me to think that I really know things that I thought I had no knowledge of.'

"'Now suppose I questioned you about money,' 16 said Ischomachus, 'whether it is good or bad, could I persuade you that you know how to distinguish good from false by test? And by putting questions about flute-players could I convince you that you understand flute-playing; and by means of questions about painters and other artists——'

"'You might, since you have convinced me that I understand agriculture, though I know that I have never been taught this art.'

"'No, it isn't so, Socrates. I told you a while 17 ago that agriculture is such a humane, gentle art that you have but to see her and listen to her, and she at once makes you understand her. She herself 18 gives you many lessons in the best way of treating her. For instance, the vine climbs the nearest tree, and so teaches you that she wants support. And when her clusters are yet tender, she spreads her leaves about them, and teaches you to shade the exposed parts from the sun's rays during that period. But when it is now time for her grapes to be sweet- 19 ened by the sun, she sheds her leaves, teaching you to strip her and ripen her fruit. And thanks to her teeming fertility, she shows some mellow clusters while she carries others yet sour, so saying to you: Pluck my grapes as men pluck figs,—choose the luscious ones as they come.'"

XX. "And now I asked, 'How is it then, Ischomachus, if the operations of husbandry are so easy to learn and all alike know what must needs

δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐχὶ καὶ πάντες πράττουσιν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφθόνως τε ζῶσι καὶ περιττὰ ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δύνανται πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοφείλουσιν ;

- 2 Ἐγὼ δὴ σοί γε λέξω, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος. οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδ' ἡ ἀνεπιστημοσύνη τῶν γεωργῶν ἐστίν ἡ ποιοῦσα τοὺς μὲν
- 3 εὐπορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους εἶναι· οὐδ' ἂν ἀκούσαις, ἔφη, λόγου οὕτω διαθέοντος, ὅτι διέφθαρται ὁ οἶκος, διότι οὐχ ὁμαλῶς ὁ σπορεὺς ἔσπειρεν οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοὺς ὄρχους ἐφύτευσεν οὐδ' ὅτι ἀγνοήσας τις τὴν¹ φέρουσιν ἀμπέλους ἐν ἀφόρῳ ἐφύτευσεν οὐδ' ὅτι ἡγνόησέ τις, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τῷ σπόρῳ νεὸν προεργάζεσθαι, οὐδ' ὅτι ἡγνόησέ
- 4 τις, ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τῇ γῇ κόπρον μιγνύναι· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀκούσαι, ἀνὴρ οὐ λαμβάνει σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται, ὡς αὐτῷ σπεύρηται ἢ ὡς κόπρος γίγνηται. οὐδ' οἶνον ἔχει ἀνὴρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται, ὡς φυτεύσῃ ἀμπέλους οὐδὲ αἱ οὔσαι ὅπως φέρωσιν αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ ἔλαιον οὐδὲ σῦκα ἔχει ἀνὴρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπι-
- 5 μελεῖται οὐδὲ ποιεῖ, ὅπως ταῦτα ἔχῃ. τοιαῦτ', ἔφη, ἐστίν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἃ διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων οἱ γεωργοὶ διαφερόντως καὶ πράττουσι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφόν τι εὐρηκέναι εἰς τὰ
- 6 ἔργα. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἔργων οὐ γνώμη διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων οἱ μὲν βελτίονες οἱ δὲ χείρονές εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἐπιμελεία. ἃ γὰρ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ γιγνώσκουσι πάντες καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι, ταῦτα οἱ

¹ τὴν γῆν φέρουσιν Sauppe with the MSS.: γῆν was removed by Jacob.

be done, that all have not the same fortune? How is it that some farmers live in abundance and have more than they want, while others cannot get the bare necessities of life, and even run into debt?’

“‘Oh, I will tell you, Socrates. It is not know- 2
ledge nor want of knowledge on the part of farmers that causes one to thrive while another is needy. You won’t hear a story like this running 3
about: The estate has gone to ruin because the sower sowed unevenly, or because he didn’t plant the rows straight, or because someone, not knowing the right soil for vines, planted them in barren ground, or because someone didn’t know that it is well to prepare the fallow for sowing, or because someone didn’t know that it is well to manure the land. No, you are much more likely to hear it said: 4
The man gets no corn from his field because he takes no trouble to see that it is sown or manured. Or, The man has got no wine, for he takes no trouble to plant vines or to make his old stock bear. Or, The man has neither olives nor figs, because he doesn’t take the trouble; he does nothing to get them. It is not the farmers reputed to have made 5
some clever discovery in agriculture who differ in fortune from others: it is things of this sort that make all the difference, Socrates. This is true of 6
generals also: there are some branches of strategy in which one is better or worse than another, not because he differs in intelligence, but in point of carefulness, undoubtedly. For the things that all generals know, and most privates, are done by some

- 7 μὲν ποιοῦσι τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ δ' οὔ. οἶον καὶ
τόδε γιγνώσκουσιν ἅπαντες, ὅτι διὰ πολεμίας
πορευομένους βέλτιόν ἐστι τεταγμένους πορεύε-
σθαι οὕτως, ὥς ἂν ἄριστα μάχοιντο, εἰ δέοι.
τοῦτο τοίνυν γιγνώσκοντες οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσιν οὕτως,
8 οἱ δ' οὐ ποιοῦσι. φυλακὰς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν ὅτι
βέλτιόν ἐστι καθιστάναι καὶ ἡμερινὰς καὶ
νυκτερινὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται ὥς ἔχῃ οὕτως, οἱ δ'
9 οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται. ὅταν τε αὖ διὰ στενοπόρων
ἴωσι, πάννυ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν ὅστις οὐ γιγνώσκει,
ὅτι προκαταλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπίκαιρα κρεῖττον ἢ
μή. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται οὕτω
10 ποιεῖν, οἱ δ' οὔ. ἀλλὰ καὶ κόπρον λέγουσι μὲν
πάντες ὅτι ἄριστον εἰς γεωργίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρώσι
δὲ αὐτομάτην γιγνομένην· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀκριβοῦντες
ὥς γίγνεται, καὶ ῥᾶδιον ὂν πολλὴν ποιεῖν, οἱ μὲν
καὶ τούτου ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως ἀθροίζηται, οἱ δὲ
11 παραμελοῦσι. καίτοι ὕδωρ μὲν ὁ ἄνω θεὸς
παρέχει, τὰ δὲ κοῖλα πάντα τέλματα γίγνεται,
ἡ γῆ δὲ ὕλην παντοίαν παρέχει· καθαίρειν δὲ δεῖ
τὴν γῆν τὸν μέλλοντα σπείρειν· ἃ δ' ἐκποδὼν
ἀναιρεῖται, ταῦτα εἴ τις ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ
χρόνος ἤδη αὐτὸς ἂν ποιοίῃ οἷς ἡ γῆ ἥδεται.
ποία μὲν γὰρ ὕλη, ποία δὲ γῆ ἐν ὕδατι στασίμῳ
οὐ κόπρος γίγνεται ;
12 Καὶ ὅποσα δὲ θεραπείας δεῖται ἡ γῆ, ὑγροτέρα
τε οὔσα πρὸς τὸν σπόρον ἢ ἀλμωδεστέρα πρὸς
φυτείαν, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκουσιν μὲν πάντες καὶ
ὥς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξάγεται τάφροις καὶ ὥς ἡ ἄλμη
κολάζεται μιγνυμένη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνάλμοις [καὶ]
ὑγροῖς τε καὶ ξηροῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπι-
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commanders and left undone by others. For example, 7
 they all know that when marching through an
 enemy's country, the right way is to march in the
 formation in which they will fight best, if need
 be. Well, knowing this, some observe the rule,
 others break it. All know that it is right to post 8
 sentries by day and night before the camp; but
 this too is a duty that some attend to, while others
 neglect it. Again, where will you find the man who 9
 does not know that, in marching through a defile,
 it is better to occupy the points of vantage first?
 Yet this measure of precaution too is duly taken
 by some and neglected by others. So, too, every- 10
 one will say that in agriculture there is nothing so
 good as manure, and their eyes tell them that
 nature produces it. All know exactly how it is
 produced, and it is easy to get any amount of it;
 and yet, while some take care to have it collected,
 others care nothing about it. Yet the rain is sent 11
 from heaven, and all the hollows become pools of
 water, and the earth yields herbage of every kind
 which must be cleared off the ground by the sower
 before sowing; and the rubbish he removes has but
 to be thrown into water, and time of itself will make
 what the soil likes. For every kind of vegetation,
 every kind of soil in stagnant water turns into manure.

“And again, all the ways of treating the soil 12
 when it is too wet for sowing or too salt for planting
 are familiar to all men—how the land is drained by
 ditches, how the salt is corrected by being mixed
 with saltless substances, liquid or dry. Yet these

- 13 μελοῦνται οἱ μὲν οἱ δ' οὔ. εἰ δέ τις παντάπασιν ἀγνῶς εἴη, τί δύναται φέρειν ἢ γῇ, καὶ μήτε ἰδεῖν ἔχει καρπὸν μηδὲ φυτὸν αὐτῆς μήτε ὅτου ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῆς ἔχει, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ῥᾶον γῆς πείραν λαμβάνειν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ ἵππῳ, πολὺ δὲ ῥᾶον ἢ ἀνθρώπου ; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ δείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἅ τε δύναται καὶ ἅ
- 14 μὴ σαφηνίζει τε καὶ ἀληθεύει. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἢ γῇ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς¹ τῷ εὐγνώστῳ καὶ εὐμαθῇ πάντα παρέχειν ἄριστα ἐξετάζειν. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας τοῖς μὴ ἐργαζομένοις ἔστι προφασίσασθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστανται· γῆν δὲ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι εὖ πᾶσχουσα εὖ ποιεῖ·
- 15 ἀλλ' ἢ γεωργία ἐστὶ σαφῆς ψυχῆς κατήγορος κακῆς. ὥς μὲν γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο ἄνθρωπος ζῆν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐδεὶς τοῦτο αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πείθει· ὁ δὲ μήτε ἄλλην τέχνην χρηματοποιὸν ἐπιστάμενος μήτε γεωργεῖν ἐθέλων φανερόν ὅτι κλέπτων ἢ ἀρπάζων ἢ προσαιτῶν διανοεῖται βιοτεύειν ἢ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστός ἐστι.
- 16 Μέγα δὲ ἔφη διαφέρειν εἰς τὸ λυσιτελεῖν γεωργίαν καὶ μὴ λυσιτελεῖν, ὅταν ὄντων ἐργαστήρων καὶ πλεόνων ὁ μὲν ἔχῃ τινὰ ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥς τὴν ὥραν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ ἐργάται ὥσιν, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιμελῆται τούτου. ῥαδίως γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς παρὰ τοὺς δέκα διαφέρει τῷ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλος γε ἀνὴρ διαφέρει τῷ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας
- 17 ἀπιέναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ εἰάν ῥαδιουργεῖν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ῥαδίως τὸ ἥμισυ διαφέρει
- 18 τοῦ ἔργου παντός. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρὰ στάδια διακόσια ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διήνεγκαν ἀλλήλων ἀνθρώποι

matters, again, do not always receive attention. Suppose a man to be wholly ignorant as to what the land can produce, and to be unable to see crop or tree on it, or to hear from anyone the truth about it, yet is it not far easier for any man to prove a parcel of land than to test a horse or to test a human being? For the land never plays tricks, but reveals frankly and truthfully what she can and what she cannot do. I think that just because she conceals nothing from our knowledge and understanding, the land is the surest tester of good and bad men. For the slothful cannot plead ignorance, as in other arts: land, as all men know, responds to good treatment. Husbandry is the clear accuser of the recreant soul. For no one persuades himself that man could live without bread; therefore if a man will not dig and knows no other profit-earning trade, he is clearly minded to live by stealing or robbery or begging—or he is an utter fool.

“‘Farming,’ he added, ‘may result in profit or in loss; it makes a great difference to the result, even when many labourers are employed, whether the farmer takes care that the men are working during the working hours or is careless about it. For one man in ten by working all the time may easily make a difference, and another by knocking off before the time; and, of course, if the men are allowed to be slack all the day long, the decrease in the work done may easily amount to one half of the whole. Just as two travellers on the road, both young and in good health, will differ so much in pace that one will cover two hundred furlongs to the other’s hun-

¹ The text is corrupt here.

- τῷ τάχει, ἀμφοτέροι καὶ νέοι ὄντες καὶ ὑγιαίνοντες,
 ὅταν ὁ μὲν πρᾶττη ἐφ' ὥπερ ὥρμηται βαδίζων, ὁ
 δὲ ῥαστωναύῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ παρὰ κρήναις καὶ ὑπὸ
 σκιαῖς ἀναπαυόμενός τε καὶ θεώμενος καὶ αὔρας
 19 θηρέων μαλακίς. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις
 πολὺ διαφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀνύτειν οἱ πρᾶττοντες,
 ἐφ' ὥπερ τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ μὴ πρᾶττοντες,
 ἀλλ' εὕρισκοντες προφάσεις τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι
 20 καὶ ἐώμενοι ῥαδιουργεῖν. τὸ δὲ δὴ καλῶς ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι ἢ κακῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὴ τοσοῦτον
 διαφέρει ὅσον ἢ ὅλως ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ ὅλως ἀργὸν
 εἶναι. ὅταν σκαπτόντων, ἵνα ὕλης καθαραὶ αἱ
 ἄμπελοι γένωνται, οὕτω σκάπτωσιν, ὥστε πλείω
 καὶ καλλίω τὴν ὕλην γίγνεσθαι, πῶς οὕτως οὐκ
 ἀργὸν ἂν φήσαις εἶναι ;
- 21 Τὰ οὖν συντρίβοντα τοὺς οἴκους πολὺ μᾶλλον
 ταῦτά ἐστίν ἢ αἱ λίαν ἀνεπιστημοσύναι. τὸ γὰρ
 τὰς μὲν δαπάνας χωρεῖν ἐντελεῖς ἐκ τῶν οἴκων,
 τὰ δὲ ἔργα μὴ τελεῖσθαι λυσιτελούντως πρὸς τὴν
 δαπάνην, ταῦτα οὐκέτι δεῖ θαυμάζειν ἔαν ἀντὶ τῆς
- 22 περιουσίας ἔνδειαν παρέχῃται. τοῖς γε μέντοι
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δυναμένοις καὶ συντεταμένως γεωρ-
 γοῦσιν ἀννυτικωτάτην χρημάτισιν ἀπὸ γεωργίας
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετήδευσε καὶ ἐμὲ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατήρ.
 οὐδέποτε γὰρ εἶα χῶρον ἐξειργασμένον ὠνεῖσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ὅστις ἢ δι' ἀμέλειαν ἢ δι' ἀδυναμίαν τῶν
 κεκτημένων καὶ ἀργὸς καὶ ἀφύτευτος εἴη, τοῦτον
- 23 ὠνεῖσθαι παρήνει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξειργασμένους
 ἔφη καὶ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐπίδοσιν
 οὐκ ἔχειν· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἔχοντας ἐπίδοσιν οὐδὲ
 ἡδονὰς ὁμοίας ἐνόμιζε παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν κτῆμα
 καὶ θρέμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἰὸν τοῦτο καὶ

dred, because the one does what he set out to do, by going ahead, while the other is all for ease, now resting by a fountain or in the shade, now gazing at the view, now wooing the soft breeze ; so 19 in farm work there is a vast difference in effectiveness between the men who do the job they are put on to do and those who, instead of doing it, invent excuses for not working and are allowed to be slack. In fact, between good work and dishonest slothful- 20 ness there is as wide a difference as between actual work and actual idleness. Suppose the vines are being hoed to clear the ground of weeds : if the hoeing is so badly done that the weeds grow ranker and more abundant, how can you call that anything but idleness ? ’

“ ‘ These, then, are the evils that crush estates far 21 more than sheer lack of knowledge. For the outgoing expenses of the estate are not a penny less ; but the work done is insufficient to show a profit on the expenditure ; after that there’s no need to wonder if the expected surplus is converted into a loss. On the other hand, to a careful man, who 22 works strenuously at agriculture, no business gives quicker returns than farming. My father taught me that and proved it by his own practice. For he never allowed me to buy a piece of land that was well farmed ; but pressed me to buy any that was uncultivated and unplanted owing to the owner’s neglect or incapacity. “ Well farmed land,” he would 23 say, “ costs a large sum and can’t be improved ; ” and he held that where there is no room for improvement there is not much pleasure to be got from the land : landed estate and livestock must be continually coming on to give the fullest measure of

- εὐφραίνειν μάλιστα ᾤετο. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔχει πλείονα
ἐπίδοσιν ἢ χῶρος ἐξ ἀργοῦ πάμφορος γιγνόμενος.
24 εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχαίας
τιμῆς πολλοὺς πολλαπλασίου χώρους ἀξίους
ἡμεῖς ἤδη ἐποιήσαμεν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες,
ἔφη, οὕτω μὲν πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ ἐνθύμημα, οὕτω
δὲ ῥάδιον καὶ μαθεῖν, ὥστε νυνὶ ἀκούσας σὺ τοῦτο
ἐμοὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιστάμενος ἄπει. καὶ ἄλλον διδάξεις,
25 εἰάν βούλῃ. καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς δὲ πατήρ οὔτε ἔμαθε παρ'
ἄλλου τοῦτο οὔτε μεριμνῶν εὗρεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν
φιλογεωργίαν καὶ φιλοπονίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἔφη
τοιούτου χώρου, ὅπως ἔχοι ὃ τι ποιοίῃ ἅμα καὶ
26 ὠφελούμενος ἡδοίτο. ἦν γάρ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώ-
κρατες, φύσει, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φιλογεωργότατος
'Αθηναίων ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ.

Καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἠρόμην αὐτόν.
Πότερα δέ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅπόσους ἐξειργάσατο
χώρους ὁ πατήρ πάντας ἐκέκτητο ἢ καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο,
εἰ πολὺ ἀργύριον εὐρίσκει ;

Καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· ἀλλὰ
ἄλλον τοι εὐθύς ἀντεωνεῖτο, ἀργὸν δέ, διὰ τὴν
φιλεργίαν.

- 27 Λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῷ ὄντι φύσει
τὸν πατέρα φιλογέωργον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἡττον ἢ οἱ
ἔμποροι φιλόσιτοί εἰσι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔμποροι διὰ
τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν τὸν σῖτον ὅπου ἂν ἀκούσωσι
πλείστον εἶναι, ἐκεῖσε πλέουσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ
Αἰγαῖον καὶ Εὐξείνον καὶ Σικελικὸν πόντον
28 περῶντες· ἔπειτα δὲ λαβόντες ὅποσον δύνανται
πλείστον ἄγουσιν αὐτόν διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ
ταῦτα εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἐνθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ περ αὐτοὶ
πλέουσι. καὶ ὅταν δεηθῶσιν ἀργυρίου, οὐκ εἰκῇ

satisfaction. Now nothing improves more than a farm that is being transformed from a wilderness into fruitful fields. I assure you, Socrates, that we 24 have often added a hundredfold to the value of a farm. There is so much money in this idea, Socrates, and it is so easy to learn, that no sooner have you heard of it from me than you know as much as I do, and can go home and teach it to someone else, if you like. Moreover, my father did not get his knowledge 25 of it at secondhand, nor did he discover it by much thought; but he would say that, thanks to his love of husbandry and hard work, he had coveted a farm of this sort in order that he might have something to do, and combine profit with pleasure. For I assure 26 you, Socrates, no Athenian, I believe, had such a strong natural love of agriculture as my father.'

"Now on hearing this I asked, 'Did your father keep all the farms that he cultivated, Ischomachus, or did he sell when he could get a good price?'

"'He sold, of course,' answered Ischomachus, 'but, you see, owing to his industrious habits, he would promptly buy another that was out of cultivation.'

"'You mean, Ischomachus, that your father really 27 loved agriculture as intensely as merchants love corn. So deep is their love of corn that on receiving reports that it is abundant anywhere, merchants will voyage in quest of it: they will cross the Aegean, the Euxine, the Sicilian sea; and when they have 28 got as much as possible, they carry it over the sea, and they actually stow it in the very ship in which they sail themselves. And when they want money,

αὐτὸν ὅποι ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπέβαλον, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ἀκούσωσι τιμᾶσθαι τε μάλιστα τὸν σῖτον καὶ περὶ πλείστου αὐτὸν ποιῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τούτοις αὐτὸν ἄγοντες παραδιδόασιν. καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατὴρ οὕτω πως ἔοικε φιλογέωργος εἶναι.

- 29 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, Σὺ μὲν παίζεις, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ φιλοικοδόμους νομίζω οὐδὲν ἥττον οἷτινες ἂν ἀποδιδῶνται ἔξοικοδομοῦντες τὰς οἰκίας, εἴτ' ἄλλας οἰκοδομῶσι.

Νῆ Δία, ἐγὼ δέ γε σοι, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐπομόσας λέγω ἢ μὴν πιστεύειν σοι φύσει [νομίζειν] φιλεῖν ταῦτα πάντας, ἀφ' ὧν ἂν ὠφελεῖσθαι νομίζωσιν.

XXI. Ἀτὰρ ἐννοῶ γε, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὥς εὖ τῇ ὑποθέσει ὅλον τὸν λόγον βοηθοῦντα παρέσχῃσαι. ὑπέθου γὰρ τὴν γεωργικὴν τέχνην πασῶν εἶναι εὐμαθεστάτην, καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων ὧν εἴρηκας τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν παντάπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀναπέπεισμαι.

- 2 Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τότε τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ πάσαις κοινὸν ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ γεωργικῇ καὶ πολιτικῇ καὶ οἰκονομικῇ καὶ πολεμικῇ τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι, τοῦτο δὴ συνομολογῶ σοὶ ἐγὼ πολὺ διαφέρειν γνώμη τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν
3 ἐτέρων· οἷον καὶ ἐν τριήρει, ἔφη, ὅταν πελαγίζωσι καὶ δέῃ περᾶν ἡμερινούς πλοῦς ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν τῶν κελευστῶν δύνανται τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὥστε ἀκούαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐθελοντὰς πονεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀγνώμονές εἰσιν, ὥστε πλείον ἢ ἐν διπλασίῳ χρόνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνύτουσι πλοῦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδρoῦντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὃ τε κελεύων καὶ οἱ
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they don't throw the corn away anywhere at haphazard, but they carry it to the place where they hear that corn is most valued and the people prize it most highly, and deliver it to them there. Yes, your father's love of agriculture seems to be something like that.'

“‘You're joking, Socrates,’ rejoined Ischomachus; 29
‘but I hold that a man has a no less genuine love of building who sells his houses as soon as they are finished and proceeds to build others.’

“‘Of course; and I declare, Ischomachus, on my oath that I believe you, that all men naturally love whatever they think will bring them profit.’”

XXI. “‘But I am pondering over the skill with which you have presented the whole argument in support of your proposition, Ischomachus. For you stated that husbandry is the easiest of all arts to learn, and after hearing all that you have said, I am quite convinced that this is so.’

“‘Of course it is,’ cried Ischomachus; ‘but I 2
grant you, Socrates, that in respect of aptitude for command, which is common to all forms of business alike—agriculture, politics, estate-management, warfare—in that respect the intelligence shown by different classes of men varies greatly. For example, 3
on a man-of-war, when the ship is on the high seas and the rowers must toil all day to reach port, some boatswains can say and do the right thing to sharpen the men's spirits and make them work with a will, while others are so unintelligent that it takes them more than twice the time to finish the same voyage. Here they land bathed in sweat, with mutual congratulations, boatswain and seamen. There they

πειθόμενοι, ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνιδρωτὶ ἤκουσι
 4 μισοῦντες τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ μισούμενοι. καὶ
 τῶν στρατηγῶν ταύτῃ διαφέρουσιν, ἔφη, οἱ
 ἕτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πονεῖν
 ἐθέλοντας οὔτε κινδυνεύειν παρέχονται, πείθεσθαί
 τε οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας οὐδ' ἐθέλοντας ὅσον ἂν μὴ
 ἀνάγκη ᾗ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὐδ'
 αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπισταμένους παρέχουσιν, ἣν τι τῶν
 5 αἰσchrῶν συμβαίνει. οἱ δ' αὖ θεῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ
 καὶ ἐπιστήμονες ἄρχοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους,
 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραλαμβάνοντες,
 αἰσχυνομένους τε ἔχουσιν αἰσchrόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ
 πείθεσθαι οἰομένους βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ ἀγαλλο-
 μένους τῷ πείθεσθαι ἓνα ἕκαστον καὶ σύμπαντας,
 6 πονεῖν ὅταν δεήσῃ, οὐκ ἀθύμως πονοῦντας. ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις ἔστιν οἷς ἐγγίγνεται φίλοπονία¹
 τις, οὕτω καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἀρχόντων ἐγγίγνεται καὶ τὸ φιλοπονεῖν
 καὶ τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὀφθῆναι καλόν τι ποιοῦντας
 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχοντος. πρὸς ὅντινα δ' ἂν ἄρχοντα
 διατεθῶσιν οὕτως οἱ ἐπόμενοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἐρρωμένοι
 γε ἄρχοντες γίνονται, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ οἱ ἂν
 αὐτῶν ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχωσι
 καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι καὶ τοξεύωσιν ἄριστα καὶ ἵππον
 ἄριστον ἔχοντες ὥς ἵππικώτατα ἢ πελταστι-
 κώτατα προκινδυνεύωσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν δύνωνται
 ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθητέον εἶναι
 8 καὶ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς κινδύνου. τούτους
 δὲ δικαίως ἂν τις καλοῖη μεγαλογνώμονας, ᾧ ἂν
 ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες πολλοὶ ἔπωνται, καὶ μεγάλη
 χειρὶ εἰκότως οὗτος λέγοιτο πορεύεσθαι, οὗ ἂν τῇ
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arrive with a dry skin ; they hate their master and he hates them. Generals, too, differ from one another 4 in this respect. For some make their men unwilling to work and to take risks, disinclined and unwilling to obey, except under compulsion, and actually proud of defying their commander : aye, and they cause them to have no sense of dishonour when something disgraceful occurs. Contrast the genius, the brave and 5 scientific leader : let him take over the command of these same troops, or of others if you like. What effect has he on them ? They are ashamed to do a disgraceful act, think it better to obey, and take a pride in obedience, working cheerfully, every man and all together, when it is necessary to work. Just 6 as a love of work may spring up in the mind of a private soldier here and there, so a whole army under the influence of a good leader is inspired with love of work and ambition to distinguish itself under the commander's eye. Let this be the feeling of the 7 rank and file for their commander ; and I tell you, he is the strong leader, he, and not the sturdiest soldier, not the best with bow and javelin, not the man who rides the best horse and is foremost in facing danger, not the ideal of knight or targeteer, but he who can make his soldiers feel that they are bound to follow him through fire and in any adventure. Him you may justly call high-minded who 8 has many followers of like mind ; and with reason may he be said to march " with a strong arm " whose

¹ ἐθελοπονία Sauppe, after Stephanus.

γνώμη πολλαὶ χεῖρες ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ μέγας τῷ ὄντι οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἂν μεγάλα δύνηται γνώμη διαπράξασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμη.

- 9 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔργοις, ἂν τε ἐπίτροπος ἢ ὁ ἐφεστηκὼς ἂν τε καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ὃς ἂν δύνηται προθύμους καὶ ἐντεταμένους παρέχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ συνεχεῖς, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἀνύτουντές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τὰγαθὰ καὶ πολλὴν τὴν
- 10 περιουσίαν ποιοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ δεσπότου ἐπιφανέντος, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δύναται καὶ μέγιστα βλάψαι τὸν κακὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ μέγιστα τιμῆσαι τὸν πρόθυμον, εἰ μὴδὲν ἐπίδηλον ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἐργάται, ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαίμην, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἰδόντες κινήθῳσι καὶ μένος ἐκάστω ἐμπέσῃ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοτιμία κρατίστη οὔσα ἐκάστω, τοῦτον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν
- 11 ἔχειν τι ἥθους βασιλικοῦ. καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο μέγιστον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ, ὅπου τι δι' ἀνθρώπων πράττεται, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ δέ. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία τοῦτό γε ἔτι ἐγὼ λέγω ἰδόντα μαθεῖν εἶναι οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἀκούσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας δεῖν φημι τῷ ταῦτα μέλλοντι δυνήσεσθαι καὶ φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξαι καὶ τὸ
- 12 μέγιστον δὲ θεῖον γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ὅλον τουτὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θεῖον, τὸ ἐθελόντων ἄρχειν· σαφῶς δὲ δίδοται τοῖς ἀληθινῶς σωφροσύνη τετελεσμένοις. τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων τυραννεῖν διδόασιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται ἀξίους εἶναι βιοτεύειν ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν Ἀΐδου λέγεται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον διατρίβειν φοβούμενος, μὴ δις ἀποθάνῃ.

will many an arm is ready to serve ; and truly great is he who can do great deeds by his will rather than his strength.

“ ‘ So too in private industries, the man in authority 9
—bailiff or manager—who can make the workers keen, industrious and persevering—he is the man who gives a lift to the business and swells the surplus. But, Socrates, if the appearance of the master 10
in the field, of the man who has the fullest power to punish the bad and reward the strenuous workmen, makes no striking impression on the men at work, I for one cannot envy him. But if at sight of him they bestir themselves, and a spirit of determination and rivalry and eagerness to excel falls on every workman, then I should say : this man has a touch of the kingly nature in him. And this, in my judg- 11
ment, is the greatest thing in every operation that makes any demand on the labour of men, and therefore in agriculture. Mind you, I do not go so far as to say that this can be learnt at sight or at a single hearing. On the contrary, to acquire these powers a man needs education ; he must be possessed of great natural gifts ; above all, he must be a genius. For I reckon this gift is not altogether human, but 12
divine—this power to win willing obedience : it is manifestly a gift of the gods to the true votaries of prudence. Despotic rule over unwilling subjects they give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death.’ ”

THE BANQUET

THE HISTORY OF

NOTE

THE basis of the text both of the *Symposium* and of the *Apologia* is that of Sauppe published by B. Tauchnitz. Variations from this are indicated in the footnotes (for which I am indebted in several places to the *apparatus criticus* of the Oxford text edited by Marchant), except that I have made a few unnoted changes in accents and punctuation and have adopted without comment the better attested spellings ἀποθνήσκω, ἀποτεῖσαι, ἐβούλετο, ἡὺ- in augmented forms, νεώς, οἰκτίρω, σῶζω, -ττ (-σσ-), φῆς, Φλειάσιος. In the *Symposium* ii. 3 I am inclined to think that the reading should be ἐστιώμεθα. On the difficult phrase πρὸς τὸ ὀπισθεν (*Symp.* iv, 23) I should like to mention Dakyns' suggestion (based on Pollux ii, 10) of περὶ τὴν ὑπὴννην.

INTRODUCTION

THE adventuresome days of Xenophon's earlier life were over, and though in exile from Athens, he was living peacefully, it would seem, in the western part of the Peloponnese somewhere about the year 380 B.C., at the time when he wrote the *Symposium* or *Banquet* purporting to give an account of an evening in Athens about forty years before.

Although Xenophon begins by stating that he himself attended this banquet, we are led by the fact that he nowhere appears in the ensuing discussion and by the fact of his writing so long after the supposed event to suspect that we must not consider his work as an historical document (though possibly based on an actual occurrence), but rather as an attempt to sketch the revered master, Socrates, in one of his times of social relaxation and enjoyment, and, it may have been, to present a corrective to the loftier but less realistic picture of Socrates at dinner with Agathon as drawn for us by Plato in his *Symposium*. In spite of the possibly fictitious nature of the conversation, however, the personages in the dialogue, with perhaps two exceptions, are all historical. Socrates, the great man who aroused such keen admiration and deep affection in Xenophon, Plato, and a large group of other men of diverse tastes and characters, is the central figure,

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around whom appear various lesser contemporaries : Callias, the giver of the feast, represented by Plato as a dilettante who patronized the sophists, and by the comic poets Aristophanes and Eupolis as a dissipated and spendthrift scion of a very wealthy family that had been prominent at Athens in war, sports, religion, and politics for nearly two centuries ; Autolycus, the object of Callias's admiration, son of the politician Lycon (who appeared twenty-two years later as one of the prosecutors of Socrates), a youth of great beauty and of some athletic prowess, one of the prize-winners at the Panathenaic games in this year (421 B.C.) and the next year subject of a comedy by Eupolis called the *Autolycus*, finally executed by the Thirty Tyrants ; Antisthenes, follower of Gorgias the sophist and of Socrates, afterward founder of the Cynic school of philosophy ; Niceratus, son of the wealthy general Nicias (who perished in the ill-advised Syracusan expedition about seven years after the events of this evening), represented here as newly married to an Athenian girl who, we are told elsewhere, would not survive her husband when he was killed by the Thirty Tyrants ; Critobulus, son of Socrates' faithful friend Crito ; Hermogenes, probably the brother of Callias, mentioned by Plato as having failed to receive his share of the ancestral wealth ; Charmides, uncle of Plato and a favourite of Socrates ; and two persons otherwise unknown to us, Philip the buffoon and the Syracusan.

Not only are the personages all, or nearly all, historical, but the setting and the action are circumstantial and realistic. The time was the summer of 421 B.C., just after the greater Panathenaic games, —an ancient festival to Athena held every year,

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but every fourth year with special munificence, comprising contests for various kinds of athletes and musicians, and culminating in the brilliant and stately procession of men and maidens, sacrificial victims, charioteers, and cavalrymen that had been immortalized only a few years before this time by Pheidias and his craftsmen in the magnificent Ionic frieze of the Parthenon. Socrates and his friends are invited by Callias in holiday spirit, on the spur of the moment, to attend a banquet which he is about to give to Autolycus and his father. Everything is informal,—the various rambling remarks and bandied pleasantries, the unceremonious interruption by Philip the jester, the entertainment offered by the Syracusan and his trained troupe, and then the more systematic presentation by each man of his special contribution to the common weal, followed by the pantomime. It is hardly worth while to compare this real and vital scene with the jejune *Banquets* of later men, mere stalking-horses for the philosophical disquisitions of an Epicurus, the miscellanies of a Plutarch or an Athenaeus, or the antiquarian pilferings of a Macrobius; one rather turns to a work nearer in time and in essence, the *Symposium* of Plato, written apparently about 385 B.C., doubtless only a few years before the work of Xenophon. As might well have been expected, we do not reach in Xenophon the same exalted level of inspiration and poetical feeling that we do in Plato's representation of the banqueters' discussion of Love, but we feel rather the atmosphere of actual, ordinary disputation among men not keyed up to any high pitch of fervour; we do not have so well-developed or so formal or so long-sustained philosophical debate,

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but we enjoy a feeling of reality in the evening's event, of seeing more vividly than in Plato just how an Athenian banquet was conducted. And so, if we desire to supplement and correct the realism of the comedians and see the ordinary Athenians in their times of relaxation, we can hardly do better than view them in these pages of Xenophon. There is an Attic grace and restraint, also, in Xenophon that has made his works charming to ancient and to modern alike.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ

Ι. Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς. οἷς δὲ παραγενόμενος ταῦτα γιγνώσκω δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.

- 2 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἵπποδρομία, Καλλίας δὲ ὁ Ἰππονίκου ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Αὐτολύκου παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ νενικηκότα αὐτὸν παγκράτιον ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ὥς δὲ ἡ ἵπποδρομία ἔληξεν, ἔχων τὸν τε Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπήει εἰς τὴν ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἰκίαν.
- 3 συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νικήρατος. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁμοῦ ὄντας Σωκράτην τε καὶ Κριτόβουλον καὶ Ἑρμογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ Χαρμίδην, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' Αὐτόλυκον ἡγεῖσθαί τινα ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
- 4 προσῆλθε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σωκρατην, καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰς καλόν γε ὑμῖν συντετύχηκα· ἐστὶν γὰρ μέλλω Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. οἶμαι οὖν πολὺ ἂν τὴν κατασκευὴν μοι λαμπροτέραν φανῆναι εἰ ἀνδράσιν ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ ὑμῖν ὁ ἀνδρῶν κεκοσμημένος εἶη μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ σπουδαρχίαις.

XENOPHON'S BANQUET

I. To my mind it is worth while to relate not only the serious acts of great and good men but also what they do in their lighter moods. I should like to narrate an experience of mine that gives me this conviction.

It was on the occasion of the horse-races at the greater Panathenaic games; Callias, Hipponicus' son, was enamoured, as it happened, of the boy Autolycus, and in honour of his victory in the pancratium¹ had brought him to see the spectacle. When the racing was over, Callias proceeded on his way to his house in the Peiraeus with Autolycus and the boy's father; Niceratus also was in his company. But on catching sight of a group comprising Socrates, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Antisthenes, and Charmides, Callias bade one of his servants escort Autolycus and the others, and himself going over to Socrates and his companions, said, "This is an opportune meeting, for I am about to give a dinner in honour of Autolycus and his father; and I think that my entertainment would present a great deal more brilliance if my dining-room were graced with the presence of men like you, whose hearts have undergone philosophy's purification, than it would with generals and cavalry commanders and office-seekers."

¹ The pancratium was a severe athletic contest involving a combination of boxing and wrestling, and requiring on the part of the contestants unusual physique and condition. There were separate events open to men and to boys.

5 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀεὶ σὺ ἐπισκώπτεις ἡμᾶς καταφρονῶν ὅτι σὺ μὲν Πρωταγόρα τε πολὺ ἀργύριον δέδωκας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ Γοργίᾳ καὶ Προδίκῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἡμᾶς δ' ὁρᾷς αὐτουργοὺς τινὰς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὄντας.

6 Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν γε, ἔφη, ἀπεκρυπτόμην ὑμᾶς ἔχων πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγειν, νῦν δέ, ἐὰν παρ' ἐμοὶ ᾗτε, ἐπιδείξω ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν πάνυ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὄντα.

7 Οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλῆσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνοῦντο συνδειπνήσειν· ὥς δὲ πάνυ ἀχθόμενος φανερός ἦν εἰ μὴ ἔψοιντο, συνηκολούθησαν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ
8 λουσάμενοι παρήλθον. Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥσπερ εἰκὸς κατεκλίθησαν.

Εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἐννοήσας τις¹ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἠγήσατ' ἂν φύσει βασιλικόν τι τὸ κάλλος εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης
9 καθάπερ Αὐτόλυκος τότε κεκτῆταί τις αὐτό. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῇ, πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἴλκε τὰς ὀψεις πρὸς αὐτόν. ἔπειτα τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου· οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντο

¹ ἐννοήσας τις Aristeides ; ἐννοήσας MSS.

"You are always quizzing us," replied Socrates; "for you have yourself paid a good deal of money for wisdom to Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and many others, while you see that we are what you might call amateurs in philosophy; and so you feel supercilious toward us."

"Yes," said Callias, "so far, I admit, I have been keeping you ignorant of my ability at profound and lengthy discourse; but now, if you will favour me with your company, I will prove to you that I am a person of some consequence."

Now at first Socrates and his companions thanked him for the invitation, as might be expected, but would not promise to attend the banquet; when it became clear, however, that he was taking their refusal very much to heart, they went with him. And so his guests arrived, some having first taken their exercise and their rub-down, others with the addition of a bath. Autolycus took a seat by his father's side; the others, of course, reclined.¹

A person who took note of the course of events would have come at once to the conclusion that beauty is in its essence something regal, especially when, as in the present case of Autolycus, its possessor joins with it modesty and sobriety. For in the first place, just as the sudden glow of a light at night draws all eyes to itself, so now the beauty of Autolycus compelled every one to look at him. And again, there was not one of the onlookers who did not feel his soul strangely stirred by the boy; some of them grew quieter than before, others even

¹ Attic reliefs depicting banquet scenes show that it was customary for the men to recline at table, but for the women and children, if present, to sit.

- 10 πως. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐκ θεῶν του κατεχόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἄλλων πρὸς τὸ γοργότεροί τε ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ φοβερώτερον φθέγγεσθαι καὶ σφοδρότεροι εἶναι φέρονται, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἑρωτος ἔνθεοι τὰ τε ὄμματα φιλοφρονεστέως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν φωνὴν πραότεραν ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτατον ἄγουσιν. ἃ δὲ καὶ Καλλίας τότε διὰ τὸν Ἑρωτα πράττων ἀξιοθέατος ἦν τοῖς τετελεσμένοις τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ.
- 11 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν σιωπῇ ἐδείπνου, ὥσπερ τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονός τινος. Φίλιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ διότι κατάγεσθαι βούλοιο· συνεσκευασμένος τε παρῆναι ἔφη πάντα τὰπιτήδεια—ὥστε δειπνεῖν τὰλλότρια, καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διὰ τε τὸ φέρειν—μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνύριστον εἶναι.
- 12 ὁ οὖν Καλλίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, αἰσχρὸν στέγης γε φθονῆσαι· εἰσίστω οὖν. καὶ ἅμα ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπισκοπῶν τί ἐκείνῳ δόξειε τὸ
- 13 σκῶμμα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔνθα τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν γελωτοποιὸς εἰμι ἴστε πάντες· ἤκω δὲ προθύμως νομίσας γελοιότερον εἶναι τὸ ἄκλητον ἢ τὸ κεκλημένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. Κατακλίνου τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας· καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρόντες σπουδῆς μὲν, ὥς ὀρᾶς, μεστοί, γέλωτος δὲ ἴσως ἐνδεέστεροι.

assumed some kind of a pose. Now it is true that all who are under the influence of any of the gods seem well worth gazing at; but whereas those who are possessed of the other gods have a tendency to be sterner of countenance, more terrifying of voice, and more vehement, those who are inspired by chaste Love have a more tender look, subdue their voices to more gentle tones, and assume a supremely noble bearing. Such was the demeanour of Callias at this time under the influence of Love; and therefore he was an object well worth the gaze of those initiated into the worship of this god.

The company, then, were feasting in silence, as though some one in authority had commanded them to do so, when Philip the buffoon knocked at the door and told the porter to announce who he was and that he desired to be admitted; he added that with regard to food he had come all prepared, in all varieties—to dine on some other person's,—and that his servant was in great distress with the load he carried of—nothing, and with having an empty stomach. Hearing this, Callias said, “Well, gentlemen, we cannot decently begrudge him at the least the shelter of our roof; so let him come in.” With the words he cast a glance at Autolycus, obviously trying to make out what he had thought of the pleasantry. But Philip, standing at the threshold of the men's hall where the banquet was served, announced: “You all know that I am a jester; and so I have come here with a will, thinking it more of a joke to come to your dinner uninvited than to come by invitation.” “Well, then,” said Callias, “take a place; for the guests, though well fed, as you observe, on seriousness, are perhaps rather ill supplied with laughter.”

- 14 Δειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Φίλιππος γελοῖόν τι εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐπιτελοίῃ ὧν περ ἔνεκα ἐκαλεῖτο ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐκίνησε γέλωτα, τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεῖς φανερὸς ἐγένετο. αὐθις δ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἄλλο τι γελοῖον ἐβούλετο λέγειν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐγέλασαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ παυσάμενος τοῦ δείπνου
- 15 συγκαλυψάμενος κατέκειτο. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Τί τοῦτ', ἔφη, ὦ Φίλιππε; ἀλλ' ἡ ὀδύνη σε εἴληφε; καὶ ὃς ἀναστενάξας εἶπε, Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Καλλία, μεγάλη γε· ἐπεὶ γὰρ γέλως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐκαλούμην ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἵνα εὐφραίνοντο οἱ συνόντες δι' ἐμὲ γελῶντες· νῦν δὲ τίνος ἔνεκα καὶ καλεῖ μέ τις; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε σπουδάσαι ἂν δυναίμην μᾶλλον ἢ περ ἀθάνατος γενέσθαι, οὔτε μὴν ὥς ἀντικληθησόμενος καλεῖ μέ τις, ἐπεὶ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ νομίζεται εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν δεῖπνον εἰσφέρεισθαι. καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα ἀπεμύττετό τε καὶ τῇ φωνῇ
- 16 σαφῶς κλαίειν ἐφαίνετο. πάντες μὲν οὖν παρεμυθοῦντό τε αὐτὸν ὥς αὐθις γελασόμενοι καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐκέλευον, Κριτόβουλος δὲ καὶ ἐξεκάγχασεν ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκτισμῷ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ' ὥς ἤσθετο τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀνεκαλύψατό τε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρακελευσάμενος θαρρεῖν, ὅτι ἔσονται συμβολαί, πάλιν ἐδείπνει.

II. Ὡς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπει-

¹ Philip puns on the ambiguous *συμβολαί*, which means either hostile encounters or a banquet to which the viands

No sooner were they engaged in their dinner than Philip attempted a witticism, with a view to rendering the service that secured him all his dinner engagements; but on finding that he did not excite any laughter, he showed himself, for the time, considerably vexed. A little later, however, he must try another jest; but when they would not laugh at him this time either, he stopped while the dinner was in full swing, covered his head with his cloak, and lay down on his couch. "What does this mean, Philip?" Callias inquired. "Are you seized with a pain?" Philip replied with a groan, "Yes, Callias, by Heaven, with a severe one; for since laughter has perished from the world, my business is ruined. For in times past, the reason why I got invitations to dinner was that I might stir up laughter among the guests and make them merry; but now, what will induce any one to invite me? For I could no more turn serious than I could become immortal; and certainly no one will invite me in the hope of a return invitation, as every one knows that there is not a vestige of tradition of bringing dinner into my house." As he said this, he wiped his nose, and to judge by the sound, he was evidently weeping. All tried to comfort him with the promise that they would laugh next time, and urged him to eat; and Critobulus actually burst out into a guffaw at his lugubrious moaning. The moment Philip heard the laughter he uncovered his head, and exhorting his spirit to be of good courage, in view of approaching engagements,¹ he fell to eating again.

II. When the tables had been removed and the are contributed by the guests. His exhortation to his spirit is quite Odyssean.

- σάν τε καὶ ἐπαιανισαν, ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον
 Συρακόσιός τις¹ ἄνθρωπος, ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα
 ἀγαθὴν καὶ ὀρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμέ-
 νων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὠραῖον καὶ πάνυ
 καλῶς κιθαρίζοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ
 ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἐν θαύματι ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν.
 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐλητρὶς μὲν ἠΐλησεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς
 ἐκιθάρισε, καὶ ἐδόκουν μάλα ἀμφοτέροι ἱκανῶς
 εὐφραίνειν, εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Νῆ Δί', ὦ Καλ-
 λία, τελέως ἡμᾶς ἐστιᾶς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον
 ἄμεμπτον παρέθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ
 3 ἀκροάματα ἡδιστα παρέχεις. καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Τί οὖν
 εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκοι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία
 ἐστιώμεθα ; Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης. ὥσπερ
 γάρ τοι ἐσθῆς ἄλλη μὲν γυναικί, ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρὶ
 καλή, οὕτω καὶ ὁσμὴ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνδρί, ἄλλη δὲ
 γυναικὶ πρέπει. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν δήπου ἕνεκα
 ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς μύρῳ χρίεται. αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἥν νύμφαι τύχωσιν οὔσαι, ὥσπερ ἡ
 Νικηράτου τοῦδε καὶ ἡ Κριτοβούλου, μύρον μὲν
 τί καὶ προσδέονται ; αὐταὶ γὰρ τούτου ὄζουσιν.
 ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἐν γυμνασίοις ὁσμὴ καὶ παροῦσα
 ἡδίῳν ἢ μύρου γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀποῦσα ποθεινοτέρα.
 4 καὶ γὰρ δὴ μύρῳ μὲν ὁ ἀλειψάμενος καὶ δοῦλος
 καὶ ἐλεύθερος εὐθὺς ἅπας ὅμοιον ὄξει· αἱ δ' ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐλευθερίων μόχθων ὁσμαι ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε

¹ Sauppe follows one MS. in placing *τις* after *ἔρχεται*.

¹ For the bride of Niceratus, see Introduction, p. 377.

² Perfumes were used at marriage by both bride and groom.

guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, there entered a man from Syracuse, to give them an evening's merriment. He had with him a fine flute-girl, a dancing-girl—one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks,—and a very handsome boy, who was expert at playing the cither and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performances as a spectacle. They now played for the assemblage, the flute-girl on the flute, the boy on the cither; and it was agreed that both furnished capital amusement. Thereupon Socrates remarked: "On my word, Callias, you are giving us a perfect dinner; for not only have you set before us a feast that is above criticism, but you are also offering us very delightful sights and sounds." "Suppose we go further," said Callias, "and have some one bring us some perfume, so that we may dine in the midst of pleasant odours, also." "No, indeed!" replied Socrates. "For just as one kind of dress looks well on a woman and another kind on a man, so the odours appropriate to men and to women are diverse. No man, surely, ever uses perfume for a man's sake. And as for the women, particularly if they chance to be young brides, like the wives of Niceratus¹ here and Critobulus, how can they want any additional perfume? For that is what they are redolent of, themselves.² The odour of the olive oil, on the other hand, that is used in the gymnasium is more delightful when you have it on your flesh than perfume is to women, and when you lack it, the want of it is more keenly felt. Indeed, so far as perfume is concerned, when once a man has anointed himself with it, the scent forthwith is all one whether he be slave or free; but the odours that result from

πρῶτον χρηστῶν¹ καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ δέονται,
εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡδεῖαί τε καὶ ἐλευθέριοι ἔσσεσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν νέοις μὲν ἂν εἴη
ταῦτα· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μηκέτι γυμναζομένους τίνας
ὄξειν δεήσει ;

Καλοκάγαθίας νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης.

Καὶ πόθεν ἂν τις τοῦτο τὸ χρίμα λάβοι ;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ παρὰ τῶν μυροπωλῶν.

Ἄλλὰ πόθεν δῆ ;

Ὁ μὲν Θεόγνις ἔφη,

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεται· ἦν δὲ
κακοῖσι

συμμίσγης, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

5 Καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν, Ἀκούεις ταῦτα, ὦ νιέ ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ χρήταί γε.
ἐπεὶ γοῦν νικηφόρος ἐβούλετο τοῦ παγκρατίου
γενέσθαι, σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος . . . σὺν σοὶ
σκεψάμενος² αὖ, ὃς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ ἱκανώτατος
εἶναι εἰς τὸ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, τούτῳ συνέσται.

6 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλοὶ ἐφθέγγξαντο· καὶ ὁ μὲν τις
αὐτῶν εἶπε, Ποῦ οὖν εὐρήσει τούτου διδάσκαλον ;

ὁ δέ τις ὡς οὐδὲ διδακτὸν τοῦτο εἴη, ἕτερος δέ

7 τις ὡς εἶπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο μαθητόν.³ ὁ
δὲ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὴ ἀμφίλογόν

¹ πρῶτον χρηστῶν Athenaeus ; πρῶτον MSS.

² The MSS. read σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος only once. There is obviously something else lost from the text, for the approximate sense of which see the translation.

³ μαθητόν Stephanus ; μαθητέον MSS.

the exertions of freemen demand primarily noble pursuits engaged in for many years if they are to be sweet and suggestive of freedom."

"That may do for young fellows," observed Lycon; "but what of us who no longer exercise in the gymnasium? What should be our distinguishing scent?"

"Nobility of soul, surely!" replied Socrates.

"And where may a person get this ointment?"

"Certainly not from the perfumers," said Socrates.

"But where, then?"

"Theognis has said:¹

'Good men teach good; society with bad
Will but corrupt the good mind that you had.'"

"Do you hear that, my son?" asked Lycon.

"Yes, indeed he does," said Socrates; "and he puts it into practice, too. At any rate, when he desired to become a prize-winner in the pancratiun, [he availed himself of your help to discover the champions in that sport and associated with them; and so, if he desires to learn the ways of virtue,]² he will again with your help seek out the man who seems to him most proficient in this way of life and will associate with him."

Thereupon there was a chorus of voices. "Where will he find an instructor in this subject?" said one. Another maintained that it could not be taught at all. A third asserted that this could be learned if anything could. "Since this is a debatable matter," suggested Socrates, "let us reserve it for another

¹ Theognis 35 f. (with *μαθήσεται* for *διδάσκει*).

² The words in brackets are meant to represent approximately the sense of words that have been lost in the manuscripts.

ἐστίν, εἰς αὐθις ἀποθώμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προκείμενα ἀποτελῶμεν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε τήνδε τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα ἐφεστηκυῖαν καὶ τροχοὺς τινα αὐτῇ προσφέροντα.

8 Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡὔλει μὲν αὐτῇ ἢ ἑτέρα, παρεστηκὼς δέ τις τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς μέχρι δώδεκα. ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα ἅμα τε ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ἀνερρίπτει δονουμένους συντεκμαιρομένη ὅσον ἔδει ρίπτειν ὕψος ὡς ἐν ῥυθμῷ δέχεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

9 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοις δῆλον καὶ ἐν οἷς δ' ἢ παῖς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἢ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔσα τυγχάνει, γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος δεῖται. ὥστε εἴ τις ὑμῶν γυναῖκα ἔχει, θαρρῶν διδασκέτω ὅ τι βούλοιτ' ἂν αὐτῇ ἐπισταμένη χρῆσθαι.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτω γιγνώσκων οὐ καὶ σὺ παιδεύεις Ξανθίππην, ἀλλὰ χρῆ γυναικὶ τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, χαλεπωτάτη;

Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὁρῶ καὶ τοὺς ἵππικους βουλομένους γενέσθαι οὐ τοὺς εὐπειθεστάτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς ἵππους κτωμένους. νομίζουσι γάρ, ἦν τοὺς τοιούτους δύνωνται κατέχειν, ῥαδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἵπποις χρήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀνθρώποις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν ταύτην κέκτημαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ ταύτην ὑποίσω, ῥαδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συνέσομαι.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἀπὸ ¹ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἔδοξεν εἰρησθαι.

¹ ἀπο Sauppe.

time; for the present let us finish what we have on hand. For I see that the dancing girl here is standing ready, and that some one is bringing her some hoops."

At that, the other girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute, and a boy at her elbow handed her up the hoops until he had given her twelve. She took these and as she danced kept throwing them whirling into the air, observing the proper height to throw them so as to catch them in a regular rhythm.

As Socrates looked on he remarked: "This girl's feat, gentlemen, is only one of many proofs that woman's nature is really not a whit inferior to man's, except in its lack of judgment and physical strength. So if any one of you has a wife, let him confidently set about teaching her whatever he would like to have her know."

"If that is your view, Socrates," asked Antisthenes, "how does it come that you don't practise what you preach by yourself educating Xanthippe, but live with a wife who is the hardest to get along with of all the women there are—yes, or all that ever were, I suspect, or ever will be?"

"Because," he replied, "I observe that men who wish to become expert horsemen do not get the most docile horses but rather those that are high-mettled, believing that if they can manage this kind, they will easily handle any other. My course is similar. Mankind at large is what I wish to deal and associate with; and so I have got her, well assured that if I can endure her, I shall have no difficulty in my relations with all the rest of human kind."

These words, in the judgment of the guests, did not go wide of the mark.

- 11 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κύκλος εἰσηνέχθη περίμεστος
 ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν. εἰς οὖν ταῦτα ἡ ὀρχηστρίς ἐκυ-
 βίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὥστε οἱ
 μὲν θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μή τι πάθῃ, ἡ δὲ θαρ-
 ρούντως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ταῦτα διεπράττετο.
- 12 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης καλέσας τὸν Ἀντισθένην εἶπεν·
 Οὔτοι τοὺς γε θεωμένους τάδε ἀντιλέξειν ἔτι
 οἶομαι ὥς οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὅποτε
 αὕτη καίπερ γυνὴ οὖσα οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ
 ξίφη ἵεται.
- 13 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν· Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τῷδε τῷ
 Συρακοσίῳ κράτιστον ἐπιδείξαντι τῇ πόλει τὴν
 ὀρχηστρίδα εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν διδῶσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναῖοι
 χρήματα, ποιήσῃ πάντας Ἀθηναίους τολμᾶν
 ὁμόσε ταῖς λόγχαις ἰέναι ;
- 14 Καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε
 ἡδέως ἂν θεώμην Πείσανδρον τὸν δημηγόρου
 μανθάνοντα κυβιστᾶν εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας, ὅς νῦν
 διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λόγχαις ἀντιβλέπειν οὐδὲ
 συστρατεύεσθαι ἐθέλει.
- 15 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ παῖς ὠρχήσατο. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης
 εἶπει, Εἶδετ', ἔφη, ὥς καλὸς ὁ παῖς ὢν ὅμως σὺν
 τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων φαίνεται ἢ ὅταν
 ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ ;
 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἐπαινοῦντι ἔοικας τὸν
 ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον.
- 16 Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλο

But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the onlookers, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. She, however, went through this performance fearlessly and safely.

Then Socrates, drawing Antisthenes' attention, said: "Witnesses of this feat, surely, will never again deny, I feel sure, that courage, like other things, admits of being taught, when this girl, in spite of her sex, leaps so boldly in among the swords!"

"Well, then," asked Antisthenes, "had this Syracusan not better exhibit his dancer to the city and announce that if the Athenians will pay him for it he will give all the men of Athens the courage to face the spear?"

"Well said!" interjected Philip. "I certainly should like to see Peisander the politician¹ learning to turn somersaults among the knives; for, as it is now, his inability to look spears in the face makes him shrink even from joining the army."

At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, "Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he appears even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he is at rest?"

"It looks to me," said Charmides, "as if you were puffing the dancing-master."

"Assuredly," replied Socrates; "and I remarked

¹ Peisander, a demagogue of some power in the unsettled times of the Peloponnesian War, had a number of weak points, especially his military record, which were exposed by the comic poets Eupolis, Hermippus, Plato, and Aristophanes. Cf. Aristophanes *Birds*, 1553 ff.

τι προσεεννόησα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄργον τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν, ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ τράχηλος καὶ σκέλη καὶ χεῖρες ἐγυμνάζοντο, ὥσπερ χρὴ ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα εὐφορώτερον τὸ σῶμα ἔξειν. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, πάνυ ἂν ἡδέως, ὦ Συρακόσιε, μάθοιμι τὰ σχήματα παρὰ σοῦ.

Καὶ ὅς, Τί οὖν χρήσει αὐτοῖς ; ἔφη.

Ὅρχήσομαι νῆ Δία.

- 17 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἅπαντες. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης μάλα ἐσπουδακότι τῷ προσώπῳ, Γελᾶτε, ἔφη, ἐπ' ἐμοί ; πότερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰ βούλομαι γυμναζόμενος μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν ἢ εἰ ἡδίων ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν ἢ εἰ τοιούτων γυμνασίων ἐπιθυμῶ, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ δολιχοδρόμοι τὰ σκέλη μὲν παχύνονται, τοὺς δὲ ὦμους λεπτύνονται, μὴδ' ὥσπερ οἱ πύκται τοὺς μὲν ὦμους παχύνονται, τὰ δὲ σκέλη λεπτύνονται, ἀλλὰ παντὶ διαπονῶν τῷ
- 18 σώματι πᾶν ἰσόρροπον ποιεῖν ; ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γελᾶτε ὅτι οὐ δεήσει με συγγυμναστὴν ζητεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ πρεσβύτην ὄντα ἀποδύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει μοι οἶκος ἐπτάκλινος, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ παιδί ἤρκεσε τόδε τὸ οἶκημα ἐνιδρῶσαι, καὶ χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν στέγῃ γυμνάσομαι, ὅταν δὲ
- 19 ἄγαν καῦμα ᾖ, ἐν σκιά ; ἢ τόδε γελᾶτε, εἰ μείζω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἔχων μετριωτέραν βούλομαι ποιῆσαι αὐτήν ; ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ἔναγχος ἔωθεν Χαρμίδης οὕτοσὶ κατέλαβέ με ὀρχούμενον ;

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης · καὶ τὸ μὲν γε

¹ Literally, a room of seven couches. Cf. Xen. Oec. VIII, 13.

something else, too,—that no part of his body was idle during the dance, but neck, legs, and hands were all active together. And that is the way a person must dance who intends to increase the suppleness of his body. And for myself," he continued, addressing the Syracusan, "I should be delighted to learn the figures from you."

"What use will you make of them?" the other asked.

"I will dance, forsooth."

This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: "You are laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? Or are you laughing because I shall not need to hunt up a partner to exercise with, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but shall find a moderate-sized room¹ large enough for me (just as but now this room was large enough for the lad here to get up a sweat in), and because in winter I shall exercise under cover, and when it is very hot, in the shade? Or is this what provokes your laughter, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?"

"Indeed I did," said Charmides; "and at first I

πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἔδεια μὴ μαίνοιτο· ἐπεὶ δέ σου ἤκουσα ὅμοια οἷς νῦν λέγεις, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε ὠρχούμην μὲν οὐ, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, ἐχειρονόμουν δέ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἠπιστάμην.

- 20 Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὕτω τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὤμοις φαίνῃ ἰσοφόρα ἔχειν ὥστε δοκεῖς ἐμοί, κἂν εἰ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀφισταίης¹ ὥσπερ ἄρτους τὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, ἀζήμιος ἂν γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας εἶπεν· ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐμὲ μὲν παρακάλει, ὅταν μέλλῃς μαυθάνειν ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἵνα σοι ἀντιστοιχῶ τε καὶ συμμαυθάνω.

- 21 Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐλησάτω, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ὀρχήσωμαι.

- Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνέστη, διῆλθε μιμούμενος τὴν τε τοῦ
22 παιδὸς καὶ τὴν τῆς παιδὸς ὀρχησιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπήνεσαν ὡς ὁ παῖς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων ἐφαίνετο, ἀνταπέδειξεν ὅτι κινοίῃ τοῦ σώματος ἅπαν τῆς φύσεως γελοϊότερον· ὅτι δ' ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο, ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μιμεῖσθαι² ἐπειράτο. τέλος δ' ὅτι τὸν παῖδ' ἐπήνουν ὡς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζοι, κελεύσας τὴν αὐλητρίδα θάπτονα ῥυθμὸν ἐπάγειν ἵει ἅμα πάντα καὶ σκέλη καὶ χεῖρας καὶ
23 κεφαλὴν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπειρήκει, κατακλινόμενος

¹ ἀφισταίης Mehler ; ἀφιστάφης MSS.

² The MSS. add τροχοὺς, which Bornemann deleted.

¹ Since the Athenians were dependent largely on imported grain, they developed an elaborate system of regulations, administered by several sets of officials, to protect the consumers

was dumbfounded and feared that you were going stark mad; but when I heard you say much the same thing as you did just now, I myself went home, and although I did not dance, for I had never learned how, I practised shadow-boxing, for I knew how to do that."

"Undoubtedly," said Philip; "at any rate, your legs appear so nearly equal in weight to your shoulders that I imagine if you were to go to the market commissioners and put your lower parts in the scale against your upper parts, as if they were loaves of bread,¹ they would let you off without a fine."

"When you are ready to begin your lessons, Socrates," said Callias, "pray invite me, so that I may be opposite you in the figures and may learn with you."

"Come," said Philip, "let me have some flute music, so that I may dance too."

So he got up and mimicked in detail the dancing of both the boy and the girl. To begin with, since the company had applauded the way the boy's natural beauty was increased by the grace of the dancing postures, Philip made a burlesque out of the performance by rendering every part of his body that was in motion more grotesque than it naturally was; and whereas the girl had bent backward until she resembled a hoop, he tried to do the same by bending forward. Finally, since they had given the boy applause for putting every part of his body into play in the dance, he told the flute girl to hit up the time faster, and danced away, flinging out legs, hands, and head all at the same time; and when he

from speculation and extortion. One set of officials controlled the weight and the price of bread.

εἶπε· Τεκμήριον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι καλῶς γυμνάζει καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ὀρχήματα. ἐγὼ γοῦν διψῶ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐγχεάτω μοι τὴν μεγάλην φιάλην.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ ἡμῖν γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς διψῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ γελῶντες.

- 24 'Ο δ' αὖ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ πίνειν μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐμοὶ πάννυ δοκεῖ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φιλοφρο-
- 25 σύνας ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα ἐγείρει. δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σώματα¹ ταῦτὰ πάσχειν ἄπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων.² καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ ἄγαν ἀθρόως ποτίζῃ, οὐ δύναται ὀρθοῦσθαι οὐδὲ ταῖς αὖραις διαπνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δ' ὁσῶ ἡδεται τοσοῦτο πίνη, καὶ μάλα ὀρθάτε αὖξεται καὶ θάλλοντα ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν
- 26 καρπογονίαν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἦν μὲν ἀθρόον τὸ ποτὸν ἐγχεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα· ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψακάζωσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργιείοις ῥήμασιν εἶπω, οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιξόμεθα.

¹ σώματα Athenaeus ; συμπόσια MSS. and Stobaeus.

² τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων MSS. ; Sauppe adopted the suggestion τὰ ἐν γῇ φνόμενα.

¹ Apparently a reminiscence of Aristophanes' *Knights*, 96, 114.

was quite exhausted, he exclaimed as he laid himself down: "Here is proof, gentlemen, that my style of dancing, also, gives excellent exercise; it has certainly given me a thirst; so let the servant fill me up the big goblet."

"Certainly," replied Callias; "and the same for us, for we are thirsty with laughing at you."

Here Socrates again interposed. "Well, gentlemen," said he, "so far as drinking is concerned, you have my hearty approval; for wine does of a truth 'moisten the soul'¹ and lull our griefs to sleep just as the mandragora does with men, at the same time awakening kindly feelings as oil quickens a flame. However, I suspect that men's bodies fare the same as those of plants that grow in the ground. When God gives the plants water in floods to drink, they cannot stand up straight or let the breezes blow through them; but when they drink only as much as they enjoy, they grow up very straight and tall and come to full and abundant fruitage. So it is with us. If we pour ourselves immense draughts, it will be no long time before both our bodies and our minds reel, and we shall not be able even to draw breath, much less to speak sensibly; but if the servants frequently 'besprinkle' us—if I too may use a Gorgian² expression—with small cups, we shall thus not be driven on by the wine to a state of intoxication, but instead shall be brought by its gentle persuasion to a more sportive mood."

¹ Gorgias was a famous contemporary orator and teacher of rhetoric, whose speeches, though dazzling to inexperienced audiences, were over-formal and ornate. Some of his metaphors drew the criticism of Aristotle as being far-fetched. Cf. *Rhet.* III, iii, 4 (1406^b 4 ff.).

- 27 Ἐδόκει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πᾶσι· προσέθηκε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς χρὴ τοὺς οἰνοχόους μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄρματηλάτας, θᾶττον περιελαύνοντας τὰς κύλικας. οἱ μὲν δὴ οἰνοχόοι οὕτως ἐποίουν.

III. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνηρμοσμένη τῇ λύρᾳ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐκιθάρισεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ᾗσεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐπήνεσαν μὲν ἅπαντες· ὁ δὲ Χαρμίδης καὶ εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔφη τὸν οἶνον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν τε παίδων τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὰς μὲν λύπας κοιμίζειν, τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐγείρειν.

- 2 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκανοὶ τέρπειν ἡμᾶς φαίνονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ βελτίονες οἴομεθα εἶναι· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὖν εἰ μὴδ' ἐπιχειρήσομεν συνόντες ὠφελεῖν τι ἢ εὐφραίνειν ἀλλήλους ;

Ἐντεῦθεν εἶπον πολλοί, Σὺ τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐξηγοῦ ποίων λόγων ἀπτόμενοι μάλιστα ἂν ταῦτα ποιοῖμεν.

- 3 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀπολάβοιμι παρὰ Καλλίου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἔφη γὰρ δήπου, εἰ συνδειπνοῖμεν, ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν.

Καὶ ἐπιδείξω γε, ἔφη, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες εἰς μέσον φέρητε ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐπίστασθε ἀγαθόν.

Ἄλλ' οὐδεὶς σοι, ἔφη, ἀντιλέγει τὸ μὴ οὐ λέξειν ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἡγεῖται πλείστου ἄξιον ἐπίστασθαι.

- 4 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ᾧ μέγι-

This resolution received a unanimous vote, with an amendment added by Philip to the effect that the wine-pourers should emulate skilful charioteers by driving the cups around with ever increasing speed. This the wine-pourers proceeded to do.

III. After this the boy, attuning his lyre to the flute, played and sang, and won the applause of all; and brought from Charmides the remark, "It seems to me, gentlemen, that, as Socrates said of the wine, so this blending of the young people's beauty and of the notes of the music lulls one's griefs to sleep and awakens the goddess of Love."

Then Socrates resumed the conversation. "These people, gentlemen," said he, "show their competence to give us pleasure; and yet we, I am sure, think ourselves considerably superior to them. Will it not be to our shame, therefore, if we do not make even an attempt, while here together, to be of some service or to give some pleasure one to another?"

At that many spoke up: "You lead the way, then, and tell us what to begin talking about to realize most fully what you have in mind."

"For my part," he answered, "I should like to have Callias redeem his promise; for he said, you remember, that if we would take dinner with him, he would give us an exhibition of his profundity."

"Yes," rejoined Callias; "and I will do so, if the rest of you will also lay before us any serviceable knowledge that you severally possess."

"Well," answered Socrates, "no one objects to telling what he considers the most valuable knowledge in his possession."

"Very well, then," said Callias, "I will now tell

στον φρονῶ. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ οἶμαι ἱκανὸς εἶναι βελτίους ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε, Πότερον τέχνην τινὰ βαναυσικὴν ἢ καλοκάγαθίαν διδάσκων ;

Εἰ καλοκάγαθία ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἥ γε ἀναμφιλογωτάτη· ἐπεὶ τοι ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ σοφία ἐστὶν ὅτε βλαβερά καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν συμμίσγνυται τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

5 Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν καὶ ὑμῶν¹ ἕκαστος εἶπῃ ὅ τι ὠφέλιμον ἔχει, τότε καὶ γὰρ οὐ φθονήσω εἰπεῖν τὴν τέχνην δι' ἧς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζομαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ αὖ, ἔφη, λέγε, ὦ Νικήρατε, ἐπὶ ποίᾳ ἐπιστήμῃ μέγα φρονεῖς.

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην, ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν· καὶ νῦν δυναίμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.

6 Ἐκείνο δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέληθέ σε ὅτι καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ πάντες ἐπίστανται ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη ;

Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, λελήθοι ἀκροώμενόν γε αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἀν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ;

Οἴσθῃ τι οὖν ἔθνος, ἔφη, ἡλιθιώτερον ῥαψῳδῶν ;

¹ ὑμῶν Castalio ; ἡμῶν MSS.

¹ The word δικαιοσύνη, translated here by *righteousness*, is sometimes well represented by *justice* or *honesty*. It is the virtue discussed by Plato in the *Republic* and by Aristotle in the fifth book of his *Ethics*.

you what I take greatest pride in. It is that I believe I have the power to make men better."

"How?" asked Antisthenes. "By teaching them some manual trade, or by teaching nobility of character?"

"The latter, if righteousness¹ is the same thing as nobility."

"Certainly it is," replied Antisthenes, "and the least debatable kind, too; for though courage and wisdom appear at times to work injury both to one's friends and to the state, righteousness and unrighteousness never overlap at a single point."

"Well, then, when every one of you has named the benefit he can confer, I will not begrudge describing the art that gives me the success that I speak of. And so, Niceratus," he suggested, "it is your turn; tell us what kind of knowledge you take pride in."

"My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man," said Niceratus, "and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart."

"But have you failed to observe," questioned Antisthenes, "that the rhapsodes,² too, all know these poems?"

"How could I," he replied, "when I listen to their recitations nearly every day?"

"Well, do you know any tribe of men," went on the other, "more stupid than the rhapsodes?"

¹ These professional reciters of epic poetry are represented as being criticized by Socrates, in much the same way as here, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, iv. ii. 10 and in Plato's *Ion*.

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, οὐκ οἶμαι
δοκεῖ.

Δῆλον γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας
οὐκ ἐπίστανται. σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ
'Αναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας
ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδέν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λέ-
7 ληθε. τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐπὶ τίνι
μέγιστον φρονεῖς ;

Ἐπὶ κάλλει, ἔφη.

Ἡ οὖν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἔξεις λέγειν ὅτι
τῷ σῷ κάλλει ἱκανὸς εἰ βελτίους ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν ;

Εἰ δὲ μή, δῆλόν γε ὅτι φαῦλος φανούμαι.

8 Τί γὰρ σύ, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ
'Αντίσθενες ;

Ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, ἔφη.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἑρμογένης ἀνῆρετο εἰ πολὺ εἴη αὐτῷ
ἀργύριον. ὁ δὲ ἀπώμοσε μηδὲ ὀβολόν.

Ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν κέκτησαι ;

Ἴσως ἄν, ἔφη, Αὐτολύκῳ τούτῳ ἱκανὴ γένοιτο
ἐγκονίσασθαι.

9 Ἀκουστέον ἂν εἴη καὶ σοῦ. τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ
Χαρμίδη, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς ;

Ἐγὼ αὖ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονῶ.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπ' εὐχαρίστῳ γε
πράγματι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἥκιστα μὲν ἐπίφθονον,
ἥκιστα δὲ περιμάχητον, καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὃν σώ-
ζεται καὶ ἀμελούμενον ἰσχυρότερον γίγνεται.

¹ Critobulus seems to imply that beauty is his only resource.

² The reference is to the handful or so of dry sand that an athlete put on after oiling his skin.

"No, indeed," answered Niceratus; "not I, I am sure."

"No," said Socrates; "and the reason is clear: they do not know the inner meaning of the poems. But you have paid a good deal of money to Stesimbrotus, Anaximander, and many other Homeric critics, so that nothing of their valuable teaching can have escaped your knowledge. But what about you, Critobulus?" he continued. "What do you take greatest pride in?"

"In beauty," he replied.

"What?" exclaimed Socrates. "Are you too going to be able to maintain that you can make us better, and by means of your beauty?"

"Why, otherwise, it is clear enough that I shall cut but an indifferent figure."¹

"And you, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "what do you take pride in?"

"In wealth," he replied.

Hermogenes asked him whether he had a large amount of money; he swore that he did not have even a penny.

"You own a great deal of land, then?"

"Well, perhaps it might prove big enough," said he, "for Autolycus here to sand himself in."²

"It looks as if we should have to hear from you, too. And how about you, Charmides?" he continued. "What do you take pride in?"

"My pride," said he, "on the contrary, is in my poverty."

"A charming thing, upon my word!" exclaimed Socrates. "It seldom causes envy or is a bone of contention; and it is kept safe without the necessity of a guard, and grows sturdier by neglect!"

10 Σὺ δὲ δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες ;

Καὶ ὃς μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπάσας τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἐπὶ μαστροπείᾳ, εἶπεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὑμεῖς μὲν γελάτε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ πάννυ ἂν πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνοιμι, εἰ βουλοίμην χρήσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ.

11 Σὺ γε μὴν δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Λύκων πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ γελωτοποιεῖν μέγα φρονεῖς.

Δικαιότερόν γ', ἔφη, οἶομαι, ἢ Καλλιππίδης ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὃς ὑπερσεμνύνεται ὅτι δύναται πολλοὺς κλαίοντας καθίζειν.

12 Οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέξεις, ὦ Λύκων, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς ;

Καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι¹ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ νίει ;

Οὗτός γε μὴν, ἔφη τις, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ νικηφόρος εἶναι.

Καὶ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος ἀνερυθριάσας εἶπε, Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἡσθέντες ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν, ἤρετό τις αὐτόν, Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴν, ὦ Αὐτόλυκε ; ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἅμα ἐνεκλίθη αὐτῷ.

Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἰδὼν, Ἀρ' οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὦ Λύκων, ὅτι πλουσιώτατος εἰ ἀνθρώπων ;

Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοῦτο μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα.

Ἀλλὰ λανθάνει σε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο τὰ βασιλέως χρήματα ἀντὶ τοῦ νιού ;

¹ ὅτι added by Stephanus.

¹ Callippides was regarded at this time and afterward as perhaps the most illustrious tragic actor of his time.

"But what of you, Socrates?" said Callias. "What are you proud of?"

Socrates drew up his face into a very solemn expression, and answered, "The trade of procurer."

After the rest had had a laugh at him, "Very well," said he, "you may laugh, but I know that I could make a lot of money if I cared to follow the trade."

"As for you," said Lycon, addressing Philip, "it is obvious that your pride is in your jesting."

"And my pride is better founded, I think," replied Philip, "than that of Callippides, the actor,¹ who is consumed with vanity because he can fill the seats with audiences that weep."

"Will you also not tell us, Lycon," said Antisthenes, "what it is that you take pride in?"

"Don't you all know," he answered, "that it is in my son here?"

"And as for him," said one, "it is plain that he is proud at having taken a prize."

At this Autolycus blushed and said, "No, indeed, not that."

All looked at him, delighted to hear him speak, and one asked, "What is it, then, Autolycus, that you are proud of?" and he answered, "My father," and with the words nestled close against him.

When Callias saw this, "Do you realize, Lycon," said he, "that you are the richest man in the world?"

"No, indeed," the other replied, "I certainly do not know that."

"Why, are you blind to the fact that you would not part with your son for the wealth of the Great King?"

Ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἴλημμαι, ἔφη, πλουσιώτατος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων ὢν.

- 14 Σὺ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, ἐπὶ τίνι μάλιστα ἀγάλλῃ;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἐπὶ φίλων, ἔφη, ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐμοῦ ἐπιμέλονται.

Ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν πάντες προσέβλεψαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἅμα ἤρουντο εἰ καὶ σφίσι δηλώσει αὐτούς, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ φθονήσει.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου ἔλεξεν ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν λοιπὸν ἂν εἴῃ ἡμῖν ἂ ἕκαστος ὑπέσχετο ἀποδεικνύναι ὡς πολλοῦ ἀξιά ἐστιν.

Ἀκούοιτ' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐμοῦ πρῶτον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ὑμῶν ἀκούω ἀπορούντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δίκαιοτέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πῶς, ὦ λῶστέ; ἔφη.

Διδούς νῆ Δί' ἀργύριον.

- 2 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἐπαναστὰς μάλα ἐλεγκτικῶς αὐτὸν ἐπήρετο. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ὦ Καλλία, πότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαλλαντίῳ τὸ δίκαιόν σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν;

Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἔφη.

Κἄπειτα σὺ εἰς τὸ βαλλάντιον διδοὺς ἀργύριον τὰς ψυχὰς δικαιοτέρας ποιεῖς;

Μάλιστα.

Πῶς;

Οτι διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὡς ἔστιν ὅτου πριάμενοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακουργοῦντες κινδυνεύειν.

- 3 Ἡ καὶ σοι, ἔφη, ἀποδιδόασιν ὅ τι ἂν λάβωσι;

"I am caught," was the answer, "red-handed ; it does look as if I were the richest man in the world."

"What about you, Hermogenes?" said Niceratus. "What do you delight in most?"

"In the goodness and the power of my friends," he answered, "and in the fact that with all their excellence they have regard for me."

Thereupon all eyes were turned toward him, and many speaking at once asked him whether he would not discover these friends to them; and he answered that he would not be at all loath to do so.

IV. At this point Socrates said: "I suspect that it remains now for each one of us to prove that what he engaged himself to champion is of real worth."

"You may hear me first," said Callias. "While I listen to your philosophical discussions of what righteousness is, I am all the time actually rendering men more righteous."

"How so, my good friend?" asked Socrates.

"Why, by giving them money."

Then Antisthenes got up and in a very argumentative fashion interrogated him. "Where do you think men harbour their righteousness, Callias, in their souls or in their purses?"

"In their souls," he replied.

"So you make their souls more righteous by putting money into their purses?"

"I surely do."

"How?"

"Because they know that they have the wherewithal to buy the necessities of life, and so they are reluctant to expose themselves to the hazards of crime."

"And do they repay you," he asked, "the money that they get from you?"

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή.

Τί δέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου χάριτας ;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι καὶ ἐχθιόνως ἔχουσιν ἢ πρὶν λαβεῖν.

Θαυμαστά γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἅμα εἰσβλέπων ὡς ἐλέγχων αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους δύνασαι δικαίους ποιεῖν αὐτούς, πρὸς δὲ σαυτὸν οὔ.

4 Καὶ τί τοῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, θαυμαστόν ; οὐ καὶ τέκτονάς τε καὶ οἰκοδόμους πολλοὺς ὁρᾷς οἱ ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ποιοῦσιν οἰκίας, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ οὐ δύνανται ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐν μισθωταῖς οἰκοῦσι ; καὶ ἀνάσχου μέντοι, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐλεγχόμενος.

5 Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀνεχέσθω μέντοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μάντις λέγονται δήπου ἄλλοις μὲν προαγορεύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μὴ προορᾶν τὸ ἐπιόν.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν.

6 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Νικήρατος, Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἂ ἔσεσθε βελτίονες ἢν ἐμοὶ συνῆτε. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου ὅτι Ὅμηρος ὁ σοφώτατος πεποίηκε σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. ὅστις ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν βούληται ἢ οἰκονομικὸς ἢ δημηγορικὸς ἢ στρατηγικὸς γενέσθαι ἢ ὅμοιος Ἀχιλλεῖ ἢ Αἴαντι ἢ Νέστορι ἢ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἐμὲ θεραπευέτω. ἐγὼ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσταμαι.

Ἡ καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι οἶσθα ἐπαινέσαντα αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς βασιλεύς τε εἶη ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής ;

BANQUET, iv. 3-6

"Heavens, no!" he replied.

"Well, do they substitute thanks for money payment?"

"No, indeed, nor that either," he said. "On the contrary, some of them have an even greater dislike of me than before they got the money."

"It is remarkable," said Antisthenes, looking fixedly at him as though he had him in a corner, "that you can make them righteous toward others but not toward yourself."

"What is there remarkable about that?" asked Callias. "Do you not see plenty of carpenters, also, and architects that build houses for many another person but cannot do it for themselves, but live in rented houses? Come now, my captious friend, take your medicine and own that you are beaten."

"By all means," said Socrates, "let him do so. For even the soothsayers have the reputation, you know, of prophesying the future for others but of not being able to foresee their own fate."

Here the discussion of this point ended.

Then Niceratus remarked: "You may now hear me tell wherein you will be improved by associating with me. You know, doubtless, that the sage Homer has written about practically everything pertaining to man. Any one of you, therefore, who wishes to acquire the art of the householder, the political leader, or the general, or to become like Achilles or Ajax or Nestor or Odysseus, should seek my favour, for I understand all these things."

"Ha!" said Antisthenes; "do you understand how to play the king, too, knowing, as you do, that Homer praised Agamemnon¹ for being 'both goodly king and spearman strong'?"

Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὅτι ἄρματηλατοῦν-
τα δεῖ ἐγγὺς μὲν τῆς στήλης κάμψαι,

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐυξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῖιν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ' εἰξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσί.

7 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλο οἶδα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα
μάλ' ἔξεστι πειρᾶσθαι. εἶπε γάρ που Ὅμηρος,
'Ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμνον ποτῶ ὄψον. ἐὰν οὖν ἐνέγκῃ τις
κρόμνον, αὐτίκα μάλα τοῦτό γε ὠφελημένοι
ἔσεσθε· ἥδιον γὰρ πίεσθε.

8 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ Νικήρα-
τος κρομμύων ὄζων ἐπιθυμεῖ οἴκαδε ἐλθεῖν, ἵν' ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ πιστεύῃ μηδὲ¹ διανοηθῆναι μηδένα ἂν
φιλήσαι αὐτόν.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἄλλην που δόξαν
γελοίαν κίνδυνος ἡμῖν προσλαβεῖν. ὄψον μὲν γὰρ
δὴ ὄντως ἔοικεν εἶναι, ὡς κρόμνον γε οὐ μόνον
σίτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτὸν ἡδύνει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ
μετὰ δεῖπνον τρωξόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ φήσῃ τις ἡμᾶς
πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας ἡδυπαθεῖν.

9 Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. εἰς μὲν γὰρ μά-
χην ὀρμωμένῳ καλῶς ἔχει κρόμνον ὑποτρώγειν,
ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀλεκτρύονας σκόροδα σιτίσαντες
συμβάλλουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἴσως βουλευόμεθα ὅπως
φιλήσομέν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ μαχούμεθα.

¹ μηδὲ Mehler ; μη MSS.

¹ Cf. *Iliad*, xxiii. 323, 334.

² *Iliad*, xxiii. 335-337.

³ *Iliad*, xi. 630.

"Yes, indeed!" said he; "and I know also that in driving a chariot one must run close to the goal-post at the turn¹ and

'Himself lean lightly to the left within
The polished car, the right-hand trace-horse goad,
Urge him with shouts, and let him have the reins.'²

And beside this I know something else, which you may test immediately. For Homer says somewhere: 'An onion, too, a relish for the drink.'³ Now if some one will bring an onion, you will receive this benefit, at any rate, without delay; for you will get more pleasure out of your drinking."

"Gentlemen," said Charmides, "Niceratus is intent on going home smelling of onions to make his wife believe that no one would even have conceived the thought of kissing him."

"Undoubtedly," said Socrates. "But we run the risk of getting a different sort of reputation, one that will bring us ridicule. For though the onion seems to be in the truest sense a relish, since it adds to our enjoyment not only of food, but also of drink, yet if we eat it not only with our dinner but after it as well, take care that some one does not say of us that on our visit to Callias we were merely indulging our appetites."

"Heaven forbid, Socrates!" was the reply. "I grant that when a man is setting out for battle, it is well for him to nibble an onion, just as some people give their game-cocks a feed of garlic before pitting them together in the ring; as for us, however, our plans perhaps look more to getting a kiss from some one than to fighting."

- Καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτω πως ἐπαύσατο.
 10 Ὁ δὲ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκοῦν αὖ ἐγὼ λέξω, ἔφη,
 ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μέγα φρονῶ ;

Λέγε, ἔφασαν.

- Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ καλὸς εἰμι, ὥς οἶομαι, ὑμεῖς
 ἂν δικαίως ἀπάτης δίκην ὑπέχοιτε· οὐδενὸς γὰρ
 ὀρκίζοντος αἰεὶ ὀμνύοντες καλὸν μέ φατε εἶναι.
 καὶ γὰρ μέντοι πιστεύω. καλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
 11 ὑμᾶς ἄνδρας νομίζω. εἰ δ' εἰμί τε τῷ ὄντι καλὸς
 καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ πάσχετε οἰάπερ ἐγὼ
 πρὸς τὸν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα καλὸν εἶναι, ὀμνυμι
 πάντας θεοὺς μὴ ἐλέσθαι ἂν τὴν βασιλέως ἀρχὴν
 12 ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὸς εἶναι. νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν
 ἡδίων μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις καλά· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
 μᾶλλον δεξαίμην ἂν εἶναι ἢ Κλεινίου¹ ἐνὸς ὄντος·
 ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ οὐχ ὁρῶ,
 ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα ὅτι μοι
 13 Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσιν. ἄξιόν γε μὴν ἡμῖν τοῖς
 καλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν
 ἰσχυρὸν πονοῦντα δεῖ κτᾶσθαι τὰ γαθὰ καὶ τὸν
 ἀνδρεῖον κινδυνεύοντα, τὸν δέ γε σοφὸν λέγοντα·
 ὁ δὲ καλὸς καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχων πάντ' ἂν διαπράξαι-
 14 το. ἐγὼ γοῦν καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι χρήματα ἡδὺ
 κτήμα ἡδίων μὲν ἂν Κλεινία τὰ ὄντα διδοίην ἢ
 ἕτερα παρ' ἄλλου λαμβάνοιμι, ἡδίων δ' ἂν δου-
 λεύοιμι ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶην, εἴ μου Κλεινίας ἄρχειν

¹ Κλεινίου Diogenes Laërtius ; ἐκείνου or κείνου or ἐκείνου
 καὶ MSS.

¹ A young cousin of the brilliant and dissipated
 Alcibiades.

BANQUET, iv. 9-14

That was about the way the discussion of this point ended.

Then Critobulus said: "Shall I take my turn now and tell you my grounds for taking pride in my handsomeness?"

"Do," they said.

"Well, then, if I am not handsome, as I think I am, you could fairly be sued for misrepresentation; for though no one asks you for an oath, you are always swearing that I am handsome. And indeed I believe you; for I consider you to be honourable men. But, on the other hand, if I really am handsome and you have the same feelings toward me that I have toward the one who is handsome in my eyes, I swear by all the gods that I would not take the kingdom of Persia in exchange for the possession of beauty. For as it is, I would rather gaze at Cleinias¹ than at all the other beautiful objects in the world. I would rather be blind to all things else than to Cleinias alone. I chafe at both night and sleep because then I do not see him; I feel the deepest gratitude to day and the sun because they reveal Cleinias to me. We handsome people have a right to be proud of this fact, too, that whereas the strong man must get the good things of his desire by toil, and the brave man by adventure, and the wise man by his eloquence, the handsome person can attain all his ends without doing anything. So far as I, at least, am concerned, although I realize that money is a delightful possession, I should take more delight in giving what I have to Cleinias than in adding to my possessions from another person's; and I should take more delight in being a slave than in being a free man, if Cleinias would deign to be my

- ἐθέλοι. καὶ γὰρ πονοίην ἂν ῥᾶον ἐκείνῳ ἢ ἀνα-
 παυοίμην, καὶ κινδυνεύοιμ' ἂν πρὸ ἐκείνου ἥδιον ἢ
 15 ἀκίνδυνος ζώην. ὥστε εἰ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, μέγα
 φρονεῖς ὅτι δικαιότερους δύνασαι ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ πρὸς
 πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιότερος σοῦ εἰμι ἄγειν ἀνθρώ-
 πους. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπνεῖν τι ἡμᾶς τοὺς καλοὺς τοῖς
 ἐρωτικοῖς ἐλευθεριωτέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ποιοῦμεν
 εἰς χρήματα, φιλοπονωτέρους δὲ καὶ φιλοκαλωτέ-
 ρους ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, καὶ μὴν αἰδημονεστέρους
 τε καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους, οἳ γε καὶ ὦν δέονται μί-
 16 λιστα ταύτ' αἰσχύνονται. μαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μὴ
 τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἰρούμενοι. ἐγὼ γοῦν μετὰ
 Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πυρὸς ἰοίην· οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς
 μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὥστε μηκέτι ἀπόρει, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴ τι
 17 τοῦμόν κάλλος ἀνθρώπους ὠφελήσει. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 μέντοι ταύτῃ γε ἀτιμαστέον τὸ κάλλος ὡς ταχὺ
 παρακμάζον, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλός,
 οὕτω καὶ μεράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτης.
 τεκμήριον δέ· θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοὺς
 καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται, ὡς συμπαρομαρ-
 18 τοῦντος πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ κάλλους. εἰ δὲ ἡδὺ τὸ
 παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράττεσθαι ὦν τις δέοιτο, εὖ οἶδ'
 ὅτι καὶ νυνὶ θᾶπτον ἂν ἐγὼ καὶ σιωπῶν πείσαιμι
 τὸν παῖδα τόνδε καὶ τὴν παῖδα φιλήσαί με ἢ σύ,
 ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγοις.
 19 Τί τοῦτο ; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ
 καλλίων ὦν ταῦτα κομπάζεις.

master. For I should find it easier to toil for him than to rest, and it would be more delightful to risk my life for his sake than to live in safety. And so, Callias, if you are proud of your ability to make people more righteous, I have a better 'right' than you to claim that I can influence men toward every sort of virtue. For since we handsome men exert a certain inspiration upon the amorous, we make them more generous in money matters, more strenuous and heroic amid dangers, yes, and more modest and self-controlled also; for they feel abashed about the very things that they want most. Madness is in those people, too, who do not elect the handsome men as generals; I certainly would go through fire with Cleinias, and I know that you would, also, with me. Therefore, Socrates, do not puzzle any more over the question whether or not my beauty will be of any benefit to men. But more than that, beauty is not to be condemned on this ground, either, that it soon passes its prime; for just as we recognize beauty in a boy, so we do in a youth, a full-grown man, or an old man. Witness the fact that in selecting garland-bearers for Athena they choose beautiful old men, thus intimating that beauty attends every period of life. Furthermore, if it is pleasurable to attain one's desires with the good will of the giver, I know very well that at this very moment, without uttering a word, I could persuade this boy or this girl to give me a kiss sooner than you could, Socrates, no matter how long and profoundly you might argue."

"How now?" exclaimed Socrates. "You boast as though you actually thought yourself a handsomer man than me."

Νῆ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἡ πάντων Σειληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς αἵσχιστος ἂν εἴην.

Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ ἐτύγχανε προσεμφερῆς τούτοις ὦν.¹

20 Ἄγε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅπως μεμνήσῃ διακριθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κάλλους, ἐπειδὰν οἱ προκείμενοι λόγοι περιέλθωσι. κρινάτω δ' ἡμᾶς μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὔσπερ σὺ οἶε ἐπιθυμεῖν σε φιλῆσαι.

21 Κλεινία δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαις ;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, Οὐ γὰρ παύσῃ σὺ Κλεινίου μεμνημένος ;

* Ἦν δὲ μὴ ὀνομάζω, ἡττόν τί με οἶε μεμνησθαι αὐτοῦ ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὥς εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδώλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην ;

22 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπέλαβε, Τί δῆτα οὕτως ὅμοιον εἶδωλον ἔχων πράγματά μοι παρέχεις ἄγεις τέ μ' ² αὐτὸν ὅπου ὄψει ;

* Ὅτι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ εἰδώλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει, πόθον δὲ ἐμποιεῖ.

¹ Sauppe brackets this sentence as an interpolation.

² τέ μ' ; τε MSS.

¹ This is regarded by some as a comment interpolated in the text, though doubtless true enough. Plato (*Symp.* 215 A, B, E ; 216 C, D ; 221 D, E ; cf. 222 D) represents Alcibiades as likening Socrates to the Sileni and particularly to the Satyr Marsyas. Vase paintings and statues give an idea of the Greek conception of their coarse features. They regularly

"Of course," was Critobulus's reply; "otherwise I should be the ugliest of all the Satyrs ever on the stage."

Now Socrates, as fortune would have it, really resembled these creatures.¹

"Come, come," said Socrates; "see that you remember to enter a beauty contest with me when the discussion now under way has gone the rounds. And let our judges be not Alexander, Priam's son,² but these very persons whom you consider eager to give you a kiss."

"Would you not entrust the arbitrament to Cleinias, Socrates?"

"Aren't you ever going to get your mind off Cleinias?" was the rejoinder.

"If I refrain from mentioning his name, do you suppose that I shall have him any the less in mind? Do you not know that I have so clear an image of him in my heart that had I ability as a sculptor or a painter I could produce a likeness of him from this image that would be quite as close as if he were sitting for me in person?"

"Why do you annoy me, then," was Socrates' retort, "and keep taking me about to places where you can see him in person, if you possess so faithful an image of him?"

"Because, Socrates, the sight of him in person has the power to delight one, whereas the sight of the image does not give pleasure, but implants a craving for him."

formed the chorus in the Satyr-plays that were given in connection with tragedies.

² Usually called Paris; the judge of beauty when Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite appealed for a decision.

23 Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ πρὸς σοῦ ποιῶ τὸ περιδεῖν Κριτόβουλον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκπλαγέντα.

Δοκεῖς γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξ οὗ ἐμοὶ σίνεστιν οὕτω διατεθῆναι αὐτόν;

Ἄλλὰ πότε μὴν;

Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἱουλος καθέρπει, Κλεινία δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὀπισθεν ἤδη ἀναβαίνει; οὗτος οὖν συμφοιτῶν εἰς ταῦτα διδασκαλεῖα ἐκείνῳ τότε ἰσχυρῶς προσεκαύθη. ἃ δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ παρέδωκέ μοι αὐτόν, εἴ τι δυναίμην ὠφελῆσαι. καὶ μέντοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἤδη ἔχει. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Γοργόνας θεώμενοι λιθίνως ἔβλεπε πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ οὐδαμοῦ¹ ἀπῆει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ δὴ εἶδον αὐτόν καὶ σκαρδα-
25 μύξαντα. καίτοι νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοί γ', ἔφη, ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρήσθαι, οὗτος καὶ πεφιληκέναι τὸν Κλεινίαν· οὗ ἔρωτος οὐδέν ἐστι δεινότερον ὑπέκκαυμα. καὶ γὰρ ἄπληστον καὶ
26 ἐλπίδας τινὰς γλυκείας παρέχει.² οὗ ἔνεκα ἀφεκτέον ἐγὼ φημι εἶναι φιλημάτων ὠοαίων τῷ σωφρονεῖν δυνησομένῳ.

27 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἄλλὰ τί δὴ ποτε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡμᾶς μὲν οὕτω τοὺς φίλους μορμολύτ-

¹ λιθίνως οὐδαμοῦ MSS. (one omitting οὐδαμοῦ); λίθινος (after the Aldine ed.) Sauppe; οὐδαμοῦ L. Dindorf.

² The MSS. add here the following sentence (probably an interpolation): ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μόνον πάντων ἔργων τὸ τοῖς στόμασι [so Wytttenbach for σώμασι of the MSS.] συμψαύειν δμώνυμον εἶναι τῷ ταῖς ψυχαῖς φιλεῖσθαι ἐντιμότερόν ἐστιν. "Possibly the fact also that of all our acts that of touching one another with the lips is the only one which goes by a name equivocal with that expressing heartfelt affection causes

"For my part, Socrates," said Hermogenes, "I do not regard it as at all like you to countenance such a mad passion of love in Critobulus."

"What? Do you suppose," asked Socrates, "that this condition has arisen since he began associating with me?"

"If not, when did it?"

"Do you not notice that the soft down is just beginning to grow down in front of his ears, while that of Cleinias is already creeping up the nape of his neck? Well, then, this hot flame of his was kindled in the days when they used to go to school together. It was the discovery of this that caused his father to put him into my hands, in the hope that I might do him some good. And without question he is already much improved. For awhile ago he was like those who look at the Gorgons—he would gaze at Cleinias with a fixed and stony stare and would never leave his presence; but now I have seen him actually close his eyes in a wink. But to tell you the truth, gentlemen," he continued, "by Heaven! it does look to me—to speak confidentially—as if he had also kissed Cleinias; and there is nothing more terribly potent than this at kindling the fires of passion. For it is insatiable and holds out seductive hopes. For this reason I maintain that one who intends to possess the power of self-control must refrain from kissing those in the bloom of beauty."

"But why in the world, Socrates," Charmides now asked, "do you flourish your bogeys so to frighten

it to be held in more esteem than would otherwise be the case." The equivocation lies in the common Greek use of φιλεῖν = either *to love* or *to kiss*.

τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ σέ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ εἶδον ναὶ μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὅτε παρὰ τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἀμφότεροι ἐμαστεύετε τι, τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὦμον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ Κριτοβούλου ὦμῳ ἔχοντα ;

- 28 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Φεῦ, ἔφη, ταῦτ' ἄρα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θηρίου τινὸς δεδηγμένος τὸν τε ὦμον πλείον ἢ πέντε ἡμέρας ὠδαξον καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὥσπερ κνήσμά¹ τι ἐδόκουν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοῖσσι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐναντίον τοσούτων μαρτύρων προαγορεύω μὴ ἄπτεσθαί μου πρὶν ἂν τὸ γένειον τῇ κεφαλῇ ὁμοίως κομήσης.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀναμῖξ ἔσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσπούδασαν.

- 29 Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Σὸν μέρος, ἔφη, λέγειν, ὦ Χαρμίδη, δι' ὃ τι ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονεῖς.

- Οὐκοῦν τόδε μὲν, ἔφη, ὁμολογεῖται, κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἢ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θεραπεύειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος
30 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἐφοβούμην μή τίς μου τὴν οἰκίαν διορύξας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάβοι καὶ αὐτόν τί με κακὸν ἐργάσαιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς ὅτι παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἱκανὸς εἶην ἢ ποιῆσαι ἐκείνους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσετάττετο μὲν αἰεὶ τί μοι δαπανᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδημῆσαι δὲ
31 οὐδαμοῖ² ἐξῆν. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων

¹ Sauppe adopts Schneider's emendation κνίσμα.

² οὐδαμοῖ L. Dindorf ; οὐδαμοῦ MSS.

us, your friends, away from the beauties, when, by Apollo! I have seen you yourself," he continued, "when the two of you were hunting down something in the same book-roll at the school, sitting head to head, with your nude shoulder pressing against Critobulus's nude shoulder?"

"Dear me!" exclaimed Socrates. "So that is what affected me like the bite of a wild animal! And for over five days my shoulder smarted and I felt as if I had something like a sting in my heart. But now, Critobulus," said he, "in the presence of all these witnesses I warn you not to lay a finger on me until you get as much hair on your chin as you have on your head."

Such was the mingled raillery and seriousness that these indulged in.

But Callias now remarked, "It is your turn, Charmides, to tell us why poverty makes you feel proud."

"Very well," said he. "So much, at least, every one admits, that assurance is preferable to fear, freedom to slavery, being the recipient of attention to being the giver of it, the confidence of one's country to its distrust. Now, as for my situation in our commonwealth, when I was rich, I was, to begin with, in dread of some one's digging through the wall of my house and not only getting my money but also doing me a mischief personally; in the next place, I knuckled down to the blackmailers, knowing well enough that my abilities lay more in the direction of suffering injury than of inflicting it on them. Then, too, I was for ever being ordered by the government to undergo some expenditure or other, and I never had the opportunity for foreign travel.

στέρομαι καὶ τὰ ἔγγεια οὐ καρποῦμαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ
τῆς οἰκίας πέπραται, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτετα-
μένος, πιστὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι δὲ
ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀπειλῶ ἄλλοις, ὥς ἐλευθέ-
ρῳ τε ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ ἐπιδημεῖν.
ὑπανίστανται δέ μοι ἤδη καὶ θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν
32 ἐξίστανται οἱ πλούσιοι. καὶ εἰμὶ νῦν μὲν τυράν-
νῳ ἔοικώς, τότε δὲ σαφῶς δοῦλος ἦν· καὶ τότε
μὲν ἐγὼ φόρον ἀπέφερον τῷ δήμῳ, νῦν δὲ ἡ πόλις
τέλος φέρουσα τρέφει με. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτει,
ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν, ἐλοιδόρουν με ὅτι συνῆν, νῦν
δ' ἐπεὶ πένης γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν μέλει οὐδε-
νί. καὶ μὴν ὅτε μὲν γε πολλὰ εἶχον, αἰεὶ τι ἀπέ-
βαλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης· νῦν
δὲ ἀποβάλλω μὲν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω, αἰεὶ δέ τι
λήψεσθαι ἐλπίζω.

33 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ εὐχῇ μηδέποτε
πλουτεῖν, καὶ εἴαν τι ὄναρ ἀγαθὸν ἴδῃς, τοῖς
ἀποτροπαίοις θύεις ;

Μὰ Δία τοῦτο μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ οὐ ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ
μάλα φιλοκινδύνως ὑπομένω, ἣν ποθέν τι ἐλπίζω
λήψεσθαι.

34 Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὖ λέγε ἡμῖν,
ὦ Ἀντίσθενης, πῶς οὕτω βραχέα ἔχων μέγα
φρονεῖς ἐπὶ πλούτῳ.

Ὅτι νομίζω, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐν
τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν πλούτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν

¹ Charmides is apparently drawing the picture of the independent voter or member of a jury.

² The poor relief.

Now, however, since I am stripped of my property over the border and get no income from the property in Attica, and my household effects have been sold, I stretch out and enjoy a sound sleep, I have gained the confidence of the state, I am no longer subjected to threats but do the threatening now myself; and I have the free man's privilege of going abroad or staying here at home as I please. People now actually rise from their seats in deference to me, and rich men obsequiously give me the right of way on the street.¹ Now I am like a despot; then I was clearly a slave. Then I paid a revenue to the body politic; now I live on the tribute² that the state pays to me. Moreover, people used to vilify me, when I was wealthy, for consorting with Socrates; but now that I have got poor, no one bothers his head about it any longer. Again, when my property was large, either the government or fate was continually making me throw some of it to the winds; but now, far from throwing anything away (for I possess nothing), I am always in expectation of acquiring something."

"Your prayers, also," said Callias, "are doubtless to the effect that you may never be rich; and if you ever have a fine dream you sacrifice, do you not, to the deities who avert disasters?"

"Oh, no!" was the reply; "I don't go so far as that; I hazard the danger with great heroism if I have any expectation of getting something from some one."

"Come, now, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "take your turn and tell us how it is that with such slender means you base your pride on wealth."

"Because, sirs, I conceive that people's wealth and poverty are to be found not in their real estate but

- 35 ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ὁρῶ γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας, οἱ
πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχοντες χρήματα οὕτω πένεσθαι
ἡγοῦνται ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυ-
νον ὑποδύονται ἐφ' ᾧ πλείονα κτήσονται, οἶδα δὲ
καὶ ἀδελφούς, οἱ τὰ ἴσα λαχόντες ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν
τάρκοῦντα ἔχει καὶ περιττεύοντα τῆς δαπάνης,
36 ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδεΐται· αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ
τυράννους τινάς, οἱ οὕτω πεινῶσι χρημάτων ὥστε
ποιοῦσι πολὺ δεινότερα τῶν ἀπορωτάτων· δι'
ἐνδειαν γὰρ δήπου οἱ μὲν κλέπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ
τοιχωρυχοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραποδίζονται· τύραννοι
δ' εἰσὶ τινες οἱ ὅλους μὲν οἴκους ἀναιροῦσιν,
ἀθρόους δ' ἀποκτείνουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅλας
37 πόλεις χρημάτων ἕνεκα ἐξανδραποδίζονται. τού-
τους μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ οἰκτίρω τῆς ἄγαν
χαλεπῆς νόσου. ὅμοια γάρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν
ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων
μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ
ἔχω ὥς μόλις αὐτὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εὐρίσκω· ὅμως
δὲ περίεστί μοι καὶ ἐσθίουσι ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ πεινῆν
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ πίνοντι μέχρι τοῦ μὴ διψῆν καὶ
ἀμφιέννυσθαι ὥστε ἔξω μὲν μηδὲν μᾶλλον Καλ-
38 λίου τούτου τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου ῥιγῶν· ἐπειδάν
γε μὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γένωμαι, πάνυ μὲν ἀλεεινοὶ
χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάνυ δὲ
παχεῖαι ἐφ'esτρίδες οἱ ὄροφοι, στρωμνὴν γε μὴν
οὕτως ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχω ὥστ' ἔργον μέ γ' ἐστὶ καὶ
ἀνεγεῖραι. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι τὸ σῶμά
μου δεηθῆν, οὕτω μοι τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεῖ ὥστε αἷς ἂν

in their hearts. For I see many persons, not in office, who though possessors of large resources, yet look upon themselves as so poor that they bend their backs to any toil, any risk, if only they may increase their holdings; and again I know of brothers, with equal shares in their inheritance, where one of them has plenty, and more than enough to meet expenses, while the other is in utter want. Again, I am told of certain despots, also, who have such a greedy appetite for riches that they commit much more dreadful crimes than they who are afflicted with the direst poverty. For it is of course their want that makes some people steal, others commit burglary, others follow the slave trade; but there are some despots who destroy whole families, kill men wholesale, oftentimes enslave even entire cities, for the sake of money. As for such men, I pity them deeply for their malignant disease; for in my eyes their malady resembles that of a person who possessed abundance but though continually eating could never be satisfied. For my own part, my possessions are so great that I can hardly find them myself; yet I have enough so that I can eat until I reach a point where I no longer feel hungry and drink until I do not feel thirsty and have enough clothing so that when out of doors I do not feel the cold any more than my superlatively wealthy friend Callias here, and when I get into the house I look on my walls as exceedingly warm tunics and the roofs as exceptionally thick mantles; and the bedding that I own is so satisfactory that it is actually a hard task to get me awake in the morning. If I ever feel a natural desire for converse with women, I am so well satisfied with whatever chance puts in my way that those to whom

προσέλθω ὑπερασπάζονται με διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἄλ-
 39 λον αὐταῖς ἐθέλειν προσιέναι. καὶ πάντα τοίνυν
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἡδέα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὥς μᾶλλον μὲν
 ἡδεσθαι ποιῶν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην,
 ἦττον δέ· οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔνια αὐτῶν ἡδίω εἶναι
 40 τοῦ συμφέροντος. πλείστου δ' ἄξιον κτῆμα ἐν τῷ
 ἐμῷ πλούτῳ λογίζομαι εἶναι ἐκείνο, ὅτι εἴ μού τις
 καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα παρέλοιτο, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὀρώ
 φαῦλον ἔργον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἄρκοῦσαν ἂν τροφήν
 41 ἐμοὶ παρέχοι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἡδυπαθῆσαι βου-
 ληθῶ, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ τίμια ὠνούμαι, πολυ-
 τελῇ γὰρ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμιεύομαι.
 καὶ πολὺ πλείον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀνα-
 μέινας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι ἢ ὅταν τινὲ τῶν
 τιμίων χρώμαι, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ Θασίῳ
 42 οἴνῳ ἐντυχὼν οὐ διψῶν πίνω αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν
 καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερους γε εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς εὐτέ-
 λειαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυχρηματίαν σκοποῦντας. οἷς
 γὰρ μάλιστα τὰ παρόντα ἄρκεῖ ἥκιστα τῶν ἄλλο-
 43 τρίων ὀρέγονται. ἄξιον δ' ἐννοῆσαι ὥς καὶ
 ἐλευθερίους ὁ τοιοῦτος πλούτος παρέχεται. Σω-
 κράτης τε γὰρ οὗτος, παρ' οὗ ἐγὼ τοῦτον
 ἐκτησάμην, οὔτ' ἀριθμῷ οὔτε σταθμῷ ἐπέρκει
 μοι, ἀλλ' ὅποσον ἐδυνάμην φερεσθαι, τοσοῦτόν
 μοι παρεδίδου· ἐγὼ τε νῦν οὐδενὶ φθονῶ, ἀλλὰ
 πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐπιδεικνύω τὴν ἀφθονίαν καὶ
 μεταδίδωμι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ

I make my addresses are more than glad to welcome me because they have no one else who wants to consort with them. In a word, all these items appeal to me as being so conducive to enjoyment that I could not pray for greater pleasure in performing any one of them, but could pray rather for less—so much more pleasurable do I regard some of them than is good for one. But the most valuable parcel of my wealth I reckon to be this, that even though some one were to rob me of what I now possess, I see no occupation so humble that it would not give me adequate fare. For whenever I feel an inclination to indulge my appetite, I do not buy fancy articles at the market (for they come high), but I draw on the store-house of my soul. And it goes a long way farther toward producing enjoyment when I take food only after awaiting the craving for it than when I partake of one of these fancy dishes, like this fine Thasian wine that fortune has put in my way and I am drinking without the promptings of thirst. Yes, and it is natural that those whose eyes are set on frugality should be more honest than those whose eyes are fixed on money-making. For those who are most contented with what they have are least likely to covet what belongs to others. And it is worth noting that wealth of this kind makes people generous, also. My friend Socrates here and I are examples. For Socrates, from whom I acquired this wealth of mine, did not come to my relief with limitation of number and weight, but made over to me all that I could carry. And as for me, I am now niggardly to no one, but both make an open display of my abundance to all my friends and share my spiritual wealth with any one of them that desires it.

44 πλούτου. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀβρότατόν γε κτῆμα τὴν σχολὴν αἰεὶ ὀράτέ μοι παρούσαν, ὥστε καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ ἀξιοθέατα καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ ἀξιάκουστα καὶ ὃ πλείστου ἐγὼ τιμῶμαι, Σωκράτει σχολάζων συνδιημερεύειν. καὶ οὗτος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πλείστον ἀριθμοῦντας χρυσίον θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν αὐτῷ ἀρέσκωσι τούτοις συνὼν διατελεῖ.

45 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Νῆ τὴν Ἡραν, ἔφη, τά τε ἄλλα ζηλῶ σε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἡ πόλις σοι ἐπιτάττουσα ὡς δούλῳ χρῆται οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἦν μὴ δανείσης, ὀργίζονται.

Ἄλλὰ μὰ Δῖ', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, μὴ ζήλου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤξω παρ' αὐτοῦ δανεισόμενος τὸ μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι, οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀριθμεῖν

ἑπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
αἶθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους,

σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς πλείστου πλούτου ἐπιθυμῶν οὐ παύομαι· ἐξ ὧν ἴσως καὶ φιλοχρηματώτερός τιςι δοκῶ εἶναι.

Ἐνθα δὲ ἀνεγέλασαν ἅπαντες, νομίζοντες τὰ ὄντα εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν.

46 Ἐκ τούτου εἶπέ τις· Σὸν ἔργον, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, λέγειν τε τοὺς φίλους οἵτινές εἰσι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι ὡς μέγα τε δύνανται καὶ σοῦ ἐπιμέλονται, ἵνα δοκῇς δικαίως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν.

¹ II. ix, 122 f., 264 f.

But—most exquisite possession of all!—you observe that I always have leisure, with the result that I can go and see whatever is worth seeing, and hear whatever is worth hearing and—what I prize highest—pass the whole day, untroubled by business, in Socrates' company. Like me, he does not bestow his admiration on those who count the most gold, but spends his time with those who are congenial to him."

Such was the thesis maintained by Antisthenes. "So help me Hera," commented Callias, "among the numerous reasons I find for congratulating you on your wealth, one is that the government does not lay its commands on you and treat you as a slave, another is that people do not feel resentful at your not making them a loan."

"Do not be congratulating him," said Niceratus; "because I am about to go and get him to make me a loan—of his contentment with his lot, schooled as I am by Homer to count

'Sev'n pots unfired, ten talents' weight of gold,

A score of gleaming cauldrons, chargers twelve,'¹

weighing and calculating until I am never done with yearning for vast riches; as a result, some people perhaps regard me as just a bit fond of lucre."

A burst of laughter from the whole company greeted this admission; for they considered that he had told nothing more than the truth.

"Hermogenes, it devolves on you," some one now remarked, "to mention who your friends are and to demonstrate their great power and their solicitude for you, so that your pride in them may appear justified."

- 47 Οὐκοῦν ὥς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται πάντα εἰδέναι τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εὐδηλον. πᾶσαι γοῦν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ μαντικῆς ἐπερωτῶσι τοὺς θεοὺς τί τε χρὴ καὶ τί οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι νομίζομέν γε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σαφές. πάντες γοῦν αἰτοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν φαῦλα ἀποτρέπειν,
48 τὰ γαθὰ δὲ διδόναι. οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ πάντα μὲν εἰδότες πάντα δὲ δυνάμειοι θεοὶ οὕτω μοι φίλοι εἰσὶν ὥστε διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μου οὐποτε λήθω αὐτοὺς οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔθ' ἡμέρας οὔθ' ὅποι ἂν ὀρμῶμαι οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν μέλλω πράττειν. διὰ δὲ τὸ προειδέναι καὶ ὅ τι ἐξ ἐκάστου ἀποβήσεται σημαίνουσί μοι πέμποντες ἀγγέλους φήμας καὶ ἐνύπνια καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἃ τε δεῖ καὶ ἃ οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν, οἷς ἐγὼ ὅταν μὲν πείθωμαι, οὐδέποτε μοι μεταμέλει· ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπιστήσας ἐκολάσθην.

- 49 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἄπιστον. ἐκείνο μέντοι ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην, πῶς αὐτοὺς θεραπεύων οὕτω φίλους ἔχεις.

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἑρμογένης, καὶ μάλα εὐτελῶς. ἐπαινῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δαπάνων, ὧν τε διδόασιν ἀεὶ αὐτῷ παρέχομαι, εὐφημῶ τε ὅσα ἂν δύνωμαι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας ποιήσωμαι ἐκὼν οὐδὲν ψεύδομαι.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἄρα τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλους αὐτοὺς ἔχεις, καὶ οἱ θεοί, ὥς ἔοικε, καλοκάγαθία ἡδονται.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐσπουδαιολογήθη.

"Very well; in the first place, it is clear as day that both Greeks and barbarians believe that the gods know everything both present and to come; at any rate, all cities and all races ask the gods, by the diviner's art, for advice as to what to do and what to avoid. Second, it is likewise manifest that we consider them able to work us good or ill; at all events, every one prays the gods to avert evil and grant blessings. Well, these gods, omniscient and omnipotent, feel so friendly toward me that their watchfulness over me never lets me out of their ken night or day, no matter where I am going or what business I have in view. They know the results also that will follow any act; and so they send me as messengers omens of sounds, dreams, and birds, and thus indicate what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And when I do their bidding, I never regret it; on the other hand, I have before now disregarded them and have been punished for it."

"None of these statements," said Socrates, "is incredible. But what I should like very much to know is how you serve them to keep them so friendly."

"A very economical service it is, I declare!" responded Hermogenes. "I sound their praises,—which costs nothing; I always restore them part of what they give me; I avoid profanity of speech as far as I can; and I never wittingly lie in matters wherein I have invoked them to be my witnesses."

"Truly," said Socrates, "if it is conduct like this that gives you their friendship, then the gods also, it would seem, take delight in nobility of soul!"

Such was the serious turn given to the discussion of this topic.

50 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον ἦκον, ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τί ὁρῶν ἐν τῇ γελωτοποιίᾳ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίη.

Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἔφη, ὅποτε γε πάντες εἰδότες ὅτι γελωτοποιός εἰμι, ὅταν μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχωσι, παρακαλοῦσί με ἐπὶ ταῦτα προθύμως, ὅταν δέ τι κακὸν λάβωσι, φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτί, φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἄκοντες γελάσωσι ;

51 Καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος εἶπε· Νῆ Δία, σὺ τοίνυν δικαίως μέγα φρονεῖς. ἐμοὶ γὰρ αὖ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν εὖ πράττοντες ἐκποδὼν ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δ' ἂν κακὸν τι λάβωσι, γενεαλογοῦσι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ οὐδέποτε μου ἀπολείπονται.

52 Εἶεν· σὺ δὲ δή, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ὦ Συρακόσιε, ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖς ; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί ;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή· ἀλλὰ καὶ δέδοικα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς. αἰσθάνομαι γάρ τινας ἐπιβουλεύοντας διαφθεῖραι αὐτόν.

53 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀκούσας, Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη, τί τοσοῦτον νομίζοντες ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ παιδὸς ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι ;

Ἄλλ' οὗτοι, ἔφη, ἀποκτεῖναι βούλονται, ἀλλὰ πείσαι αὐτὸν συγκαθεύδειν αὐτοῖς.

Σὺ δ', ὡς ἔοικας, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, νομίζεις ἂν διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, παντάπασί γε.

54 Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄρ', ἔφη, συγκαθεύδεις αὐτῷ ;

Νῆ Δί' ὅλας γε καὶ πάσας τὰς νύκτας.

When they got around to Philip, they asked him what he saw in the jester's profession to feel proud of it.

"Have I not a right to be proud," said he, "when all know that I am a jester, and so whenever they have a bit of good fortune, give me hearty invitations to come and join them, but when they suffer some reverse, run from me with never a glance behind, in dread that they may be forced to laugh in spite of themselves?"

"Your pride is abundantly justified," said Niceratus. "In my case, on the contrary, those friends who enjoy success keep out of my way, but those that run into some mishap reckon up their kinship to me on the family tree, and I can't get rid of them."

"No doubt," said Charmides; and then, turning to the Syracusan, "What is it that you are proud of? The boy, I suppose?"

"Quite the contrary," was the reply; "I am instead in extreme apprehension about him. For I understand that there are certain persons plotting his undoing."

On receiving this information, "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Socrates; "what wrong do they imagine your lad has done them that is grave enough to make them wish to kill him?"

SYR. "It is not killing him that they desire; oh, no! but to persuade him to sleep with them."

Soc. "Your belief, then, if I mistake not, is that if this happened, he would be undone?"

SYR. "Aye, utterly!"

Soc. "Do you not then sleep in his bed yourself?"

SYR. "Most certainly, all night and every night."

Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εὐτίχην γέ σου μέγα τὸ τὸν χρῶτα τοιοῦτον φῦναι ἔχοντα ὥστε μόνον μὴ διαφθείρειν τοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας. ὥστε σοί γε εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ χρωτὶ ἄξιον μέγα φρονεῖν.

55 Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῶ.

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μῆν;

Ἐπὶ νῆ Δία τοῖς ἄφροσιν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα θεώμενοι τρέφουσί με.

Ταῦτα γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ πρόην ἐγώ σου ἤκουον εὐχομένου πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅπου ἂν ἦς διδόναι καρποῦ μὲν ἀφθονίαν, φρενῶν δὲ ἀφορίαν.

56 Εἶεν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας· σὺ δὲ δῆ, ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄξιόν σοί ἐστι μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἧ εἰπας οὕτως ἀδόξῳ οὔσῃ τέχνῃ;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁμολογησώμεθα πρῶτον ποῖά ἐστιν ἔργα τοῦ μαστροποῦ· καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶ μὴ οκνεῖτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ὅσα ἂν συνομολογῶμεν. καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτω δοκεῖ; ἔφη.

Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ εἶπον Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, τοῦτο πάντες ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπεκρίναντο.

57 Οὐκοῦν ἀγαθοῦ μὲν, ἔφη, ὑμῖν δοκεῖ μαστροποῦ ἔργον εἶναι ἢν ἂν ἢ ὅν ἂν μαστροπεύῃ ἀρέσκοντα τοῦτον ἀποδεικνύναι οἷς ἂν συνῇ;

Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τί ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν ἐκ τοῦ πρέπουσαν ἔχειν σχέσιν καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος;

Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν.

58 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ

Soc. "Marry, you are in great luck to be formed of such flesh that you are unique in not corrupting those that sleep with you. And so you have a right to be proud of your flesh if of nothing else."

SYR. "And yet that is not the basis of my pride."

Soc. "What is, then?"

SYR. "Fools, in faith. They give me a livelihood by coming to view my marionettes."

"Ah!" ejaculated Philip; "that explains the prayer I heard you uttering the other day, that wherever you were the gods would grant you an abundant harvest of grain but a crop-failure of wits!"

"Good!" said Callias. "And now, Socrates, what can you advance in support of your pride in that disreputable profession that you mentioned?"

"Let us first," said he, "come to an understanding on the functions that belong to the procurer. Do not hesitate to answer all the questions I ask you, so that we may know our points of agreement. Is that your pleasure?" he asked.

"Certainly," was their reply; and when they had once started with "certainly," that was the regular answer they all made to his questions thereafter.

Soc. "Well, then, you consider it the function of a good procurer to render the man or the woman whom he is serving attractive to his or her associates?"

ALL. "Certainly."

Soc. "Now, one thing that contributes to rendering a person attractive is a comely arrangement of hair and clothing, is it not?"

ALL. "Certainly."

"This, also, we know, do we not, that it is in a

τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶς πρὸς
τινας βλέπειν ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ ; τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ
θρασέως φθέγγεσθαι ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ ; λόγοι οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν τινες ἀπεχθανόμενοι,
εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ πρὸς φιλίαν ἄγουσι ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

59 Οὐκοῦν τούτων ὁ ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς τὰ συμφέ-
ροντα εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν διδάσκει ἄν ;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Ἀμείνων δ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ὁ ἐνὶ δυνάμενος ἀρε-
σταὺς ποιεῖν ἢ ὅστις καὶ πολλοῖς ;

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἐσχίσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶπον
Δῆλον ὅτι ὅστις πλείστοις, οἱ δὲ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

60 Ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖται ἔφη· Εἰ
δέ τις καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει ἀρέσκοντας δύναίτο ἀπο-
δεικνύναι, οὐχ οὗτος παντελῶς ἂν ἤδη ἀγαθὸς
μαστροπὸς εἴη ;

Σαφῶς γε νῆ Δία, πάντες εἶπον.

Οὐκοῦν εἴ τις τοιούτους δύναίτο ἐξεργάζεσθαι
ὧν προστατοίη, δικαίως ἂν μέγα φρονοίη ἐπὶ τῇ
τέχνῃ καὶ δικαίως ἂν πολὺν μισθὸν λαμβάνοι ;

61 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντες συνωμολόγουν,
Τοιούτος μέντοι, ἔφη, μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης εἶναι
οὗτος.

man's power to use the one pair of eyes to express both friendship and hostility?"

"Certainly."

"And again, it is possible to speak both modestly and boldly with the same voice?"

"Certainly."

"Moreover, are there not words that create ill feeling and others that conduce to friendliness?"

"Certainly."

"Now the good procurer would teach only the words that tend to make one attractive, would he not?"

"Certainly."

"Which one would be the better?" he continued, "the one who could make people attractive to a single person or the one who could make them attractive to many?"

This question brought a division; some said, "Clearly the one who could make them attractive to a great many"; the others merely repeated, "Certainly."

Remarking that they were all of one mind on this point as on the others, he went on: "If a person could render people attractive to the entire community, would he not satisfy the requirements of the ideal procurer?"

"Indubitably," they all said.

"And so, if one could produce men of this type out of his clients, he would be entitled to feel proud of his profession and to receive a high remuneration, would he not?"

All agreeing on this point, too, he added, "Antisthenes here seems to me to be a man of just that sort."

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Ἐμοί, ἔφη, παραδίδως, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὴν τέχνην ;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. ὁρῶ γάρ σε καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον ταύτης πάνυ ἐξειργασμένον.

Τίνα ταύτην ;

Τὴν προαγωγείαν, ἔφη.

62 Καὶ ὅς μάλα ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπήρετο· Καὶ τί μοι σύνοισθα, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον εἰργασμένω ;

Οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, σε Καλλίαν τουτονὶ προαγωγεύσαντα τῷ σοφῷ Προδίκῳ, ὅτε ἑώρας τοῦτον μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἐρῶντα, ἐκείνον δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενον· οἶδα δέ σε Ἰππία τῷ Ἡλείῳ, παρ' οὗ οὗτος καὶ τὸ μνημονικὸν ἔμαθεν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτικώτερος γεγένηται διὰ τὸ ὅ τι ἂν καλὸν ἴδῃ μη-
63 δέποτε ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. ἔναγχος δὲ δήπου καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ξένον ἐπεὶ με ἐποίησας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοῦ, συνέστησάς μοι αὐτόν. καὶ χάριν μέντοι σοι ἔχω· πάνυ γὰρ καλὸς κάγαθὸς δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. Αἰσχύλον δὲ τὸν Φλειάσιον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον οὐχ οὕτω διέθηκας ὥστε διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἐρῶντες ἐκυ-
64 νοδρομοῦμεν ἀλλήλους ζητοῦντες ; ταῦτα οὖν ὁρῶν δυνάμενόν σε ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν νομίζω προαγωγὸν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ οἷός τε ὦν γιγνώσκειν τοὺς ὠφελίμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους δυνάμενος ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀλλήλων, οὗτος ἂν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλεις δύνασθαι φίλας ποιεῖν καὶ γάμους ἐπιτηδείους

¹ Zeuxippus, the painter. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* 318 B, C.

² Nothing further seems to be known of this man.

Antisthenes asked, "Are you resigning your profession to me, Socrates?"

"Assuredly," was the answer. "For I see that you have brought to a high state of perfection the complementary trade."

"What is that?"

"The profession of go-between," he said.

Antisthenes was much incensed and asked, "What knowledge can you possibly have of my being guilty of such a thing as that?"

"I know several instances," he replied. "I know that you acted the part between Callias here and the scholar Prodicus, when you saw that Callias was in love with philosophy and that Prodicus wanted money. I know also that you did the same for Hippias, the Elean, from whom Callias got his memory system; and as a result, Callias has become more amorous than ever, because he finds it impossible to forget any beauty he sees. And just recently, you remember, you introduced the stranger from Heraclea¹ to me, after arousing my keen interest in him by your commendations. For this I am indeed grateful to you; for I look upon him as endowed with a truly noble nature. And did you not laud Aeschylus the Phleiasian² to me and me to him until you brought us to such a pass that in mutual yearning, excited by your words, we went coursing like hounds to find each other? It is the witnessing of your talent at achieving such a result that makes me judge you an excellent go-between. For the man who can recognize those who are fitted to be mutually helpful and can make them desire one another's acquaintance, that man, in my opinion, could also create friendship between cities and arrange

συνάγειν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιός εἶναι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ¹ ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος κεκτῆσθαι. σὺ δὲ ὡς κακῶς ἀκούσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἔφην προαγωγὸν εἶναι, ὠργίσθης.

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ νῦν. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα δύνωμαι, σεσαγμένος δὴ παντάπασι πλούτου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔσομαι.

Καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ περίοδος τῶν λόγων ἀπετελέσθη.

V. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ἔφη. Σὺ δὲ δὴ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα πρὸς Σωκράτην οὐκ ἀνθίστασαι;

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἴσως γὰρ εὐδοκίμουντα τὸν μαστροπὸν παρὰ τοῖς κριταῖς ὀρά.

- 2 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οὐκ ἀναδύομαι· ἀλλὰ δίδασκε, εἴ τι ἔχεις σοφόν, ὡς καλλίων εἰ ἐμοῦ. μόνον, ἔφη, τὸν λαμπτήρα ἐγγύς τις² προσενεγκάτω.

Εἰς ἀνάκρισιν τοίνυν σε, ἔφη, πρῶτον τῆς δίκης καλοῦμαι· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου.

Σὺ δέ γε ἐρώτα.

- 3 Πότερον οὖν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνον νομίζεις τὸ καλὸν εἶναι ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινί;

Ἐγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ καὶ βοῖ καὶ ἐν ἀψύχοις πολλοῖς. οἶδα γοῦν οὔσαν καὶ ἀσπίδα καλὴν καὶ ξίφος καὶ δόρυ.

- 4 Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οἷόν τε ταῦτα μηδὲν ὅμοια ὄντα ἀλλήλοις πάντα καλὰ εἶναι;

¹ καὶ ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος Finckh; καὶ φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις MSS.; Sauppe brackets καὶ συμμάχοις.

² ἐγγύς τις Mehler; ἐγγὺς MSS.

suitable marriages, and would be a very valuable acquisition as friend or ally for both states and individuals. But you got indignant, as if you had received an affront, when I said that you were a good go-between."

"But, indeed, that is all over now," he replied; "for with this power mine I shall find my soul chock-full of riches."

And so this round of discourse was brought to a close.

V. Callias now said, "Critobulus, are you going to refuse to enter the lists in the beauty contest with Socrates?"

"Undoubtedly!" said Socrates; "for probably he notices that the procurer stands high in the favour of the judges."

"But yet in spite of that," retorted Critobulus, "I do not shun the contest. So make your plea, if you can produce any profound reason, and prove that you are more handsome than I. Only," he added, "let some one bring the light close to him."

"The first step, then, in my suit," said Socrates, "is to summon you to the preliminary hearing; be so kind as to answer my questions."

"And you proceed to put them."

"Do you hold, then, that beauty is to be found only in man, or is it also in other objects?"

Crit. "In faith, my opinion is that beauty is to be found quite as well in a horse or an ox or in any number of inanimate things. I know, at any rate, that a shield may be beautiful, or a sword, or a spear."

Soc. "How can it be that all these things are beautiful when they are entirely dissimilar?"

Ἦν νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ὧν ἕνεκα ἕκαστα κτώμεθα εὖ εἰργασμένα ἢ ἢ εὖ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἃ ἂν δεώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καλά.

5 Οἴσθα οὖν, ἔφη, ὀφθαλμῶν τίνος ἕνεκα δεόμεθα ; Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι τοῦ ὁράν.

Οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν ἤδη οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καλλίονες ἂν τῶν σῶν εἴησαν.

Πῶς δὴ ;

Οτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κατ' εὐθὺ μόνον ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιοι εἶναι.

Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων ;

Πάντως δήπου, ἔφη· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄριστα πεφυκότας ἔχει.

6 Εἶεν, ἔφη, τῶν δὲ ῥινῶν ποτέρα καλλίων, ἢ σὴ ἢ ἢ ἐμή ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οἶμαι τὴν ἐμήν, εἴπερ γε τοῦ ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἕνεκεν ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν ῥίνας οἱ θεοί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ μυκτῆρες εἰς γῆν ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀναπέπτανται, ὥστε τὰς πάντοθεν ὀσμὰς προσδέχεσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ δὴ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινὸς πῶς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ κάλλιον ;

"Οτι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀντιφράττει, ἀλλ' ἐὰ εὐθὺς τὰς ὀψεις ὁράν ἃ ἂν βούλωνται· ἢ δὲ ὑψηλὴ ῥίς ὥσπερ ἐπηρεάζουσα διατετείχικε τὰ ὄμματα.

¹ Critobulus, of course, gets into trouble by his poor definition of beauty. In the Greek the ensuing discussion is made plausible by the fact that throughout both disputants use only one word, *καλός*, which means not only *beautiful* or *handsome* but also *glorious*, *noble*, *excellent*, *fine*; and though

"Why, they are beautiful and fine,"¹ answered Critobulus, "if they are well made for the respective functions for which we obtain them, or if they are naturally well constituted to serve our needs."

Soc. "Do you know the reason why we need eyes?"

CRIT. "Obviously to see with."

"In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours."

"How so?"

"Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging out as they do, see also to the sides."

CRIT. "Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?"

Soc. "Absolutely; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength."

CRIT. "Well, let that pass; but whose nose is finer, yours or mine?"

Soc. "Mine, I consider, granting that Providence made us noses to smell with. For your nostrils look down toward the ground, but mine are wide open and turned outward so that I can catch scents from all about."

"But how do you make a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?"

Soc. "For the reason that it does not put a barricade between the eyes but allows them unobstructed vision of whatever they desire to see; whereas a high nose, as if in despite, has walled the eyes off one from the other."

starting with the first meaning it soon shifts to the last. The translator is compelled to use different terms for this in the two parts of the argument.

- 7 Τοῦ γε μὴν στόματος, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὑφίεμαι. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀποδάκνειν ἔνεκα πεποίηται, πολὺ ἂν σὺ μείζον ἢ ἐγὼ ἀποδάκοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ παχέα ἔχειν τὰ χεῖλη οὐκ οἶει καὶ μαλακώτερόν σου ἔχειν τὸ φίλημα ;
- Ἔοικα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον καὶ τῶν ὄνων αἴσχιον τὸ στόμα ἔχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐδὲν τεκμήριον λογίζῃ ὡς ἐγὼ σοῦ καλλίων εἰμί, ὅτι καὶ Ναῖδες θεαὶ οὔσαι τοὺς Σειληνοὺς ἐμοὶ ὁμοιοτέρους τίκτουσιν ἢ σοί ;
- 8 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκέτι, ἔφη, ἔχω πρὸς σὲ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ διαφερόντων, ἔφη, τὰς ψήφους, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα εἰδῶ ὅ τι με χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι. μόνον, ἔφη, κρυφῇ φερόντων· δέδοικα γὰρ τὸν σὸν καὶ Ἀντισθένης πλούτον μή με καταδυναστεύσῃ.
- 9 Ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς καὶ ὁ παῖς κρύφα ἀνέφερον. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν τούτῳ διέπραττε τὸν τε λύχνον ἀντιπροσενεγκεῖν τῷ Κριτοβούλῳ, ὡς μὴ ἐξαπατηθείησαν οἱ κριταί, καὶ τῷ νικήσαντι μὴ ταινίας ἀλλὰ φιλήματα ἀναδήματα παρὰ τῶν
- 10 κριτῶν γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσον αἱ ψήφοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι σὺν Κριτοβούλῳ, Παπαῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐχ ὅμοιον ἔοικε τὸ σὸν ἀργύριον, ὧ Κριτόβουλε, τῷ Καλλίου εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τούτου δικαιοτέρους ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σὸν ὥσπερ τὸ πλείστον διαφθείρειν ἱκανόν ἐστι καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ κριτάς.

VI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον,

"As for the mouth," said Critobulus, "I concede that point. For if it is created for the purpose of biting off food, you could bite off a far bigger mouthful than I could. And don't you think that your kiss is also the more tender because you have thick lips?"

Soc. "According to your argument, it would seem that I have a mouth more ugly even than an ass's. But do you not reckon it a proof of my superior beauty that the River Nymphs, goddesses as they are, bear as their offspring the Seileni, who resemble me more closely than they do you?"

"I cannot argue any longer with you," answered Critobulus; "let them distribute the ballots, so that I may know without suspense what fine or punishment I must undergo. Only," he continued, "let the balloting be secret, for I am afraid that the 'wealth' you and Antisthenes possess will overmaster me."

So the maiden and the lad turned in the ballots secretly. While this was going on, Socrates saw to it that the light should be brought in front of Critobulus, so that the judges might not be misled, and stipulated that the prize given by the judges to crown the victor should be kisses and not ribbons. When the ballots were turned out of the urn and proved to be a unanimous verdict in favour of Critobulus, "Faugh!" exclaimed Socrates; "your money, Critobulus, does not appear to resemble Callias's. For his makes people more honest, while yours is about the most potent to corrupt men, whether members of a jury or judges of a contest."

VI. At this some of the company urged Critobulus to take his kisses, the meed of victory; others advised him to get the consent of the young

οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον πείθειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔσκωπτον. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμογένης κἀνταῦθα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὀνομάσας αὐτόν, Ἐχοις ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἑρμογενες, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τί ἐστὶ παροιμία ;

Καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ μὲν ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἐρωτᾷς, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ μέντοι μοι δοκοῦν εἵποιμ' ἄν.

Ἄλλ' ὃ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ', ἔφη.

- 2 Τὸ τοίνυν παρ' οἶνον λυπεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω παροιμίαν.

Οἶσθ' οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ σὺ νῦν ἡμᾶς λυπεῖς σιωπῶν ;

Ἦ καὶ ὅταν λέγητ' ; ἔφη.

Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὅταν διαλίπωμεν.

Ἦ οὖν λέληθέ σε ὅτι μεταξὺ τοῦ ὑμᾶς λέγειν οὐδ' ἂν τρίχα, μὴ ὅτι λόγον ἂν τις παρείρει ;

- 3 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Καλλία, ἔχοις ἄν τι, ἔφη, ἀνδρὶ ἐλεγχομένῳ βοηθῆσαι ;

Ἐγώ, ἔφη. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς φθέγγηται, παντάπασι σιωπῶμεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης, Ἦ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔφη, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ ὑποκριτῆς τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν κατέλεγεν, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν ὑμῖν διαλέγωμαι ;

- 4 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, Ἑρμογενες, οὕτω ποίει. οἶμαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδῃ ἡδίῳ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡδύνεσθαι ἂν τι ὑπὸ τῶν φθόγγων, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μορφάζοις ὥσπερ ἡ αὐλητρίς καὶ σὺ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα.

people's legal guardian; and others indulged in other badinage. But even then Hermogenes kept silent. And Socrates, calling him by name, inquired, "Hermogenes, could you define 'convivial unpleasantness' for us?"

"If you ask me what it actually is," he answered, "I do not know; but I am willing to tell you what I think it is."

Soc. "Very well, tell us that."

HERM. "My definition of 'convivial unpleasantness' is the annoying of one's companions at their drink."

Soc. "Well, do you realize that at the present moment you conform to the definition by annoying us with your taciturnity?"

HERM. "What! while you are talking?"

"No, but in the intervals."

"Why, don't you see that a person could not insert even a hair in the interstices of your talk, much less a word?"

"Callias," said Socrates, appealing to him, "could you come to the rescue of a man hard put to it for an answer?"

"Yes, indeed," said he: "we are absolutely quiet every time the flute is played."

Hermogenes retorted, "Is it your wish that I should converse with you to the accompaniment of a flute, the way the actor Nicostratus used to recite tetrameter verses?"

"In Heaven's name, do so, Hermogenes," urged Socrates. "For I believe that precisely as a song is more agreeable when accompanied on the flute, so your discourse would be embellished somewhat by the music, especially if you were to gesticulate and pose, like the flute-girl, to point your words."

5 Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἔφη· "Ὅταν οὖν ὁ Ἀντισθένης
ὄδ' ἐλέγχῃ τινὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τί ἔσται τὸ
αὐλημα ;

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε, Τῷ μὲν ἐλεγχομένῳ
οἶμαι ἄν, ἔφη, πρέπειν συριγμόν.

6 Τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ὄντων ὡς ἑώρα ὁ Συρακό-
σιος τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδειγμάτων ἀμελοῦντας,
ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἡδομένους, φθονῶν τῷ Σωκράτει
εἶπεν· Ἄρα σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ φροντιστὴς ἐπικα-
λούμενος ;

Οὐκοῦν κάλλιον, ἔφη, ἢ εἰ ἀφρόντιστος¹ ἐκα-
λούμην ;

Εἰ μὴ γε ἐδόκεις τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστὴς
εἶναι.

7 Οἶσθα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μετεωρότερόν τι
τῶν θεῶν ;

Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ τούτων σε λέγουσιν
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνωφελεστάτων.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ οὕτως ἄν, ἔφη, θεῶν ἐπιμελοίμην·
ἀνωθεν μὲν γε ὕοντες ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀνωθεν δὲ φῶς
παρέχουσιν. εἰ δὲ ψυχρὰ λέγω, σὺ αἵτιος, ἔφη,
πράγματά μοι παρέχων.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἔα· ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι πόσους

¹ ἀφρόντιστος Capps ; ἀφρόντιστος MSS.

¹ The Syracusan uses the word applied by the Greeks first to astronomical and then to philosophical (especially onto-logical) inquiry, a word of reproach for radical thinkers that was used against Socrates in Aristophanes' burlesque, the

"What is the tune to be," asked Callias, "when Antisthenes here gets some one at the banquet cornered in an argument?"

"For the discomfited disputant," said Antisthenes, "I think the appropriate music would be a hissing."

The Syracusan, seeing that with such conversation going on the banqueters were paying no attention to his show, but were enjoying one another's company, said spitefully to Socrates, "Socrates, are you the one nick-named the 'Thinker'?"

"Well, isn't that preferable," he rejoined, "to being called the 'Thoughtless'?"

"Yes, if it were not that you are supposed to be a thinker on celestial subjects."¹

"Do you know," asked Socrates, "anything more celestial than the gods?"

SYR. "No; but that is not what people say you are concerned with, but rather with the most unbeneficial things."

SOC. "Even granting the expression, it would still be the gods that are my concern; for (1) they cause rain *under* the heavens and so are *beneficial*,² and (2) they produce light, also *under* the heavens, and are thus again *beneficial*. If the pun is strained," he added, "you have only yourself to blame for it, for annoying me."

SVR. "Well, let that pass. But tell me the

Clouds, and later played a more serious part in Socrates' trial.

² This translation is an attempt to reproduce Socrates' bad logic and worse pun whereby he takes the Syracusan's expression ἀν-ωφελεστάτων ("most useless," "most unbeneficial") and not only splits it in two, but changes the negative prefix into the adverb ἄνωθεν ("from above").

ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις. ταῦτα γάρ σέ φασι γεωμετρεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε· Σὺ μέντοι δεινὸς εἶ, ὦ Φίλιππε, εἰκάζειν· οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος λαιδορεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ εἰκέναι ;

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοις γε πολλοῖς.

9 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὐτὸν μὴ εἵκαζε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σὺ λαιδορουμένῳ εἰκῆς.

Ἀλλ' εἴπερ γε τοῖς πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰκάζω αὐτόν, ἐπαινοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ λαιδορουμένῳ δικαίως ἂν εἰκάζοι μέ τις.

Καὶ νῦν σύγε λαιδορουμένῳ ἔοικας, εἰ πάντ' αὐτοῦ βελτίῳ φῆς εἶναι.

10 Ἀλλὰ βούλει πονηροτέροις εἰκάζω αὐτόν ;

Μηδὲ πονηροτέροις.

Ἀλλὰ μηδενί ;

Μηδενὶ μηδὲν τοῦτον εἵκαζε.

Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι γε σιωπῶν οἶδα ὅπως ἄξια τοῦ δείπνου ἐργάσομαι.

Καὶ ῥαδίως γ', ἂν ἂ μὴ δεῖ λέγειν, ἔφη, σιωπᾶς.

Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ παροιμία οὕτω κατεσβέσθη.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον

¹ In a famous passage in the *Clouds* (144 ff., cf. also 830 f.), published two years before this banquet was supposed to have been held, Aristophanes had represented Socrates and Chaerephon as measuring a flea's jump in terms of its own feet.

² *i. e.* (if the text is sound), by saying that he resembles the virtuous, thus assuming that he is not actually one of them.

distance between us in flea's feet; for people say that your geometry includes such measurements as that." ¹

At this Antisthenes said to Philip: "You are clever at hitting off a person's likeness; wouldn't you say that our friend here resembles one with a penchant for abuse?"

"Yes, indeed," came the answer; "and I see a resemblance in him to many another kind of person, too."

"Nevertheless," interposed Socrates, "do not draw the comparison, lest you take on a similar likeness to one stooping to abuse."

"But suppose I am likening him to all the upright, the very élite; then I should deserve to be compared to a eulogist, rather than to a detractor."

"Ah, you resemble the latter right now, for you are asserting that every one is better than he." ²

"Would you have me compare him to those who excel him in villainy?"

"No, not those, either."

"What, to no one?"

"No; don't compare him to any one in any particular."

"But if I hold my peace, I do not understand how I am going to render services suitable to such a fine dinner."

"That is easily effected," said Socrates, "if you will be reticent on matters that should not be talked about."

Thus was quenched this bit of convivial unpleasantness.

VII. Then some among the rest of the banqueters kept urging Philip to go on with his com-

εἰκάζειν, οἱ δὲ ἐκώλυνον. θορύβου δὲ ὄντος ὁ Σωκράτης αὖ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἄρα ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγειν, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἅμα ἄσαιομεν ; καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἦρχεν ὥδῃς.
 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν, εἰσεφέρετο τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι τροχὸς τῶν κεραμικῶν, ἐφ' οὗ ἔμελλε θαυματουργήσκειν.

Ἐνθα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· ὦ Συρακόσιε, κινδυνεύω ἐγώ, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τῷ ὄντι φροντιστῆς εἶναι· νῦν γοῦν¹ σκοπῶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ μὲν παῖς ὅδε ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ παῖς ἥδε ὥς ῥᾶστα διάγοιεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφραϊνοίμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτούς.
 3 ὅπερ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ βούλει. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ μὲν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστᾶν κινδύνου ἐπίδειγμα εἶναι, ὃ συμποσίῳ οὐδὲν προσήκει. καὶ μὴν τό γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἅμα περιδινουμένου γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστίν, ἡδονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα δύναμαι γινῶναι τίν' ἂν παράσχοι. οὐδὲ μὴν τό γε διαστρέφοντας τὰ σώματα καὶ τροχοὺς μιμουμένους ἡδίων ἢ ἡσυχίαν
 4 ἔχοντας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους θεωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι σπάνιον τό γε θαυμασίοις ἐντυχεῖν, εἴ τις τούτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτίκα μάλα τὰ παρόντα θαυμάζειν, τί ποτε ὁ μὲν λύχνος διὰ τὸ λαμπρὰν φλόγα ἔχειν φῶς παρέχει, τὸ δὲ χαλκεῖον λαμπρὸν ὃν φῶς μὲν οὐ ποιεῖ, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμφαινόμενα παρέχεται· καὶ πῶς τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον ὑγρὸν ὃν αὖξει τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ὅτι
 5 ὑγρὸν ἐστίν, κατασβέννυσιν τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ εἰς ταῦτόν τῷ οἴνῳ ἐπισπεύδει· εἰ

¹ γοῦν L. Dindorf ; οὖν MSS.

parisons, while others opposed. As the clamour rose to some height, Socrates once more interposed, saying: "Since we all want to talk, would this not be a fine time to join in singing?" And with the words he began a song. When they had finished, a potter's wheel was brought in for the dancing-girl on which she intended performing some feats of jugglery.

This prompted Socrates to observe to the Syracusan: "Sir, it is quite probable that, to use your words, I am indeed a 'thinker'; at any rate, I am now considering how it might be possible for this lad of yours and this maid to exert as little effort as may be, and at the same time give us the greatest possible amount of pleasure in watching them,—this being your purpose, also, I am sure. Now, turning somersaults in among knives seems to me to be a dangerous exhibition, which is utterly out of place at a banquet. Also, to write or read aloud on a whirling potter's wheel may perhaps be something of a feat; yet I cannot conceive what pleasure even this can afford. Nor is it any more diverting to watch the young and beautiful going through bodily contortions and imitating hoops than to contemplate them in repose. For it is of course no rare event to meet with marvels, if that is what one's mind is set on. He may marvel at what he finds immediately at hand,—for instance, why the lamp gives light owing to its having a bright flame, while a bronze mirror, likewise bright, does not produce light but instead reflects other things that appear in it; or how it comes about that olive oil, though wet, makes the flame higher, while water, because it is wet, puts the fire out. However, these questions also fail to promote the same object that wine does;

δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτές τε καὶ Ὀραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, πολὺ ἂν οἶμαι αὐτούς τε ῥᾶον διάγειν καὶ τὸ συμπόσιον πολὺ ἐπιχαριτώτερον εἶναι.

Ὁ οὖν Συρακόσιος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλῶς τε λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς εὐφρανεῖσθε.

VIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακόσιος ἐξελθὼν συνεκροτεῖτο· ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πάλιν αὖ καινοῦ λόγου κατῆρχεν. Ἄρ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ ἰσηλικὸς τοῖς ἀειγενέσι θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωτάτου, καὶ μεγέθει μὲν πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ψυχῇ δ' ἀνθρώπου ἰδρυμένου,¹ Ἐρωτος, μὴ ἀμνημονῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμέν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου θιασῶται; ἐγὼ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω χρόνον εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐρῶν τινος διατελῶ, Χαρμίδην δὲ τόνδε οἶδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐραστὰς κτησάμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὢν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα· Κριτόβουλός γε μὴν ἔτι² καὶ νῦν ἐρώμενος ὢν ἤδη³ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμεῖ.

3 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντερᾶται. Ἐρμογένη γε μὴν τίς ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν ὥς, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστὶν ἢ καλοκἀγαθία, τῷ ταύτης ἔρωτι κατατήκεται; οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὡς σπουδαῖαι μὲν αὐτοῦ αἱ ὑφρύνες, ἀτρεμεῖς δὲ τὸ ὄμμα, μέτριοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, πραεῖα δὲ ἡ φωνή, ἱλαρὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος; τοῖς δὲ σεμνοτάτοις θεοῖς φίλοις χρωμενος οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

¹ ἰδρυμένου Blonifield; ἰσουμένου MSS.

² μὴν ἔτι Bornemann; ἔτι μὴν MSS. (one omitting the words); μὴν Sauppe.

³ ἤδη καὶ Sauppe (with one MS.).

but if the young people were to have a flute accompaniment and dance figures depicting the Graces, the Horae,¹ and the Nymphs, I believe that they would be far less wearied themselves and that the charms of the banquet would be greatly enhanced."

"Upon my word, Socrates," replied the Syracusan, "you are quite right; and I will bring in a spectacle that will delight you."

VIII. So the Syracusan withdrew amid applause. Socrates now opened up another new topic for discussion. "Gentlemen," said he, "it is to be expected of us, is it not, when in the presence of a mighty deity that is coëval with the eternal gods, yet youngest of them all in appearance, in magnitude encompassing the universe, but enthroned in the heart of man,—I mean Love,—that we should not be unmindful of him, particularly in view of the fact that we are all of his following? For I cannot name a time when I was not in love with some one, and I know that Charmides here has gained many lovers and has in some instances felt the passion himself; and Critobulus, though even yet the object of love, is already beginning to feel this passion for others. Nay, Niceratus too, so I am told, is in love with his wife and finds his love reciprocated. And as for Hermogenes, who of us does not know that he is pining away with love for nobility of character, whatever that may be? Do you not observe how serious his brows are, how calm his gaze, how modest his words, how gentle his voice, how genial his demeanour? That though he enjoys the friendship of the most august gods, yet he does not disdain us

¹ Or, the Seasons. Or it may be used here in the Homeric sense of the maidens who kept the cloud gate of Heaven.

ὑπερορᾷ; σὺ δὲ μόνος, ὦ Ἀντίσθενης, οὐδενὸς ἐρᾷς;

4 Ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ σφόδρα γε σοῦ.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπισκώψας ὥς δὴ θρυπτόμενος εἶπε· Μὴ νῦν μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὄχλον παρέχε· ὥς γὰρ ὁρᾷς, ἄλλα πράττω.

5 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεξεν· Ὡς σαφῶς μέντοι σύ, μαστροπὲ σαυτοῦ, αἰεὶ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς· τοτὲ μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον προφασιζόμενος οὐ διαλέγῃ μοι, τοτὲ δ' ἄλλου του ἐφιέμενος.

6 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενης, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με· τὴν δ' ἄλλην χαλεπότητα ἐγὼ σου καὶ φέρω καὶ οἶσω φιλικῶς. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν σὸν ἔρωτα κρύπτωμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔστιν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς

7 ἐμῆς. ὅτι γε μὴν σύ, ὦ Καλλία, ἐρᾷς Αὐτολύκου πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις οἶδε, πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ξένων. τούτου δ' αἷτιον τὸ πατέρων τε ὀνομαστών ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς.

8 αἰεὶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἠγάμην τὴν σὴν φύσιν, νῦν δὲ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ ὁρῶ σε ἐρῶντα οὐχ ἄβρότητι χλιδαινομένου οὐδὲ μαλακίᾳ θρυπτομένου, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνυμένου ῥώμην τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην. τὸ δὲ τοιούτων ἐπιθυμεῖν τεκμήριόν ἐστι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐραστοῦ

9 φύσεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη ἢ διτταί, Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνδημος, οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει·

¹ See footnote on page 494 of the *Defence*.

mortals? Are you the only person, Antisthenes, in love with no one?"

"No, by Heaven!" replied he; "I am madly in love—with you."

And Socrates, banteringly, pretending to be coquettish, said: "Don't pester me just now; I am engaged in other business, as you see."

"How transparent you are, sir procurer of your own charms," Antisthenes rejoined, "in always doing something like this; at one time you refuse me audience on the pretext of your divine sign,¹ at another time because you have some other purpose in mind."

"In Heaven's name, Antisthenes," implored Socrates, "only refrain from beating me; any other manifestation of your bad temper I am wont to endure, and shall continue to do so, in a friendly spirit. But," he went on, "let us keep your love a secret, because it is founded not on my spirit but on my physical beauty. But as for you, Callias, all the city knows that you are in love with Autolycus, and so, I think, do a great many men from abroad. The reason for this is the fact that you are both sons of distinguished fathers and are yourselves in the public eye. Now, I have always felt an admiration for your character, but at the present time I feel a much keener one, for I see that you are in love with a person who is not marked by dainty elegance nor wanton effeminacy, but shows to the world physical strength and stamina, virile courage and sobriety. Setting one's heart on such traits gives an insight into the lover's character. Now, whether there is one Aphrodite or two, 'Heavenly' and 'Vulgar,' I do not know; for even Zeus, though considered one and the same, yet has

- ὅτι γε μέντοι χωρὶς ἑκατέρα βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ νεῶ
καὶ θυσίαι τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ῥαδιουργότεραι, τῇ δὲ
10 Οὐρανίᾳ ἀγνώτεραι, οἶδα. εἰκάσαις δ' ἂν καὶ
τοὺς ἔρωτας τὴν μὲν Πάνδημον τῶν σωμάτων
ἐπιπέμπειν, τὴν δ' Οὐρανίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ
τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων. ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ
σύ, ὦ Καλλία, κατέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς ἔρωτος.
11 τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐρωμένου καλοκἀγαθία καὶ
ὅτι σε ὁρῶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντα
εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοῦτον συνουσίας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τού-
των ἐστὶν ἀπόκρυφον πατρὸς τῷ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ
ἐραστῇ.
12 Καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπε, Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, ὦ
Σώκρατες, ἄλλα τέ σου πολλὰ ἄγαμαι καὶ ὅτι
νῦν ἅμα χαριζόμενος Καλλία καὶ παιδεύεις αὐτὸν
οἰόνπερ χρὴ εἶναι.

- Νῆ Δί', ἔφη· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐφραίνη-
ται, βούλομαι αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι ὥς καὶ πολὺ
κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὁ τοῦ σώματος
13 ἔρως. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδε-
μία ἀξιόλογος πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. φιλεῖν γε μὴν
τῶν μὲν τὸ ἡθος ἀγαμένων ἀνάγκη ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐθε-
λουσία καλεῖται· τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυ-
μούντων πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς τρόπους μέμφονται
14 καὶ μισοῦσι τῶν ἐρωμένων· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω
στέρξωσι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ταχὺ δῆπου
παρακμάζει, ἀπολείποντος δὲ τούτου ἀνάγκη καὶ
τὴν φιλίαν συναπομαραίνεσθαι, ἣ δὲ ψυχὴ
ὅσονπερ ἂν χρόνον ἴῃ ἐπὶ τὸ φρονιμώτερον καὶ
15 ἀξιεραστοτέρα γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῆς

many by-names. I do know, however, that in the case of Aphrodite there are separate altars and temples for the two, and also rituals, those of the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite excelling in looseness, those of the 'Heavenly' in chastity. One might conjecture, also, that different types of love come from the different sources, carnal love from the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite, and from the 'Heavenly' spiritual love, love of friendship and of noble conduct. That is the sort of love, Callias, that seems to have you in its grip. I infer this from the noble nature of the one you love and because I see that you include his father in your meetings with him. For the virtuous lover does not make any of these matters a secret from the father of his beloved."

"Marry," quoth Hermogenes, "you arouse my admiration in numerous ways, Socrates, but now more than ever, because in the very act of flattering Callias you are in fact educating him to conform to the ideal."

"True," he replied; "and to add to his pleasure, I wish to bear testimony to him that spiritual love is far superior to carnal. For we all know that there is no converse worth the mention that does not comprise affection. Now affection on the part of those who feel admiration for character is commonly termed a pleasant and willing constraint; whereas many of those who have a merely physical concupiscence reprehend and detest the ways of those they love. But suppose they are satisfied on both scores; yet the bloom of youth soon passes its prime, and as this disappears, affection also inevitably fades away as fast; but the soul becomes more and more lovable the longer it progresses toward wisdom. Besides, in

- μορφῆς χρήσει ἔνεστί τις καὶ κόρος, ὥστε ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σιτία διὰ πλησμονήν, ταῦτα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ πάσχειν· ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία διὰ τὸ ἀγνὴ εἶναι καὶ ἀκορεστοτέρα ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι, ὥς γ' ἂν τις οἰηθείη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεπαφροδιτοτέρα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχὴ ἐν ᾗ αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ
- 16 ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι. ὥς μὲν γὰρ ἄγαταί τε καὶ φιλεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον θάλλουσα μορφῇ τε ἐλευθερία καὶ ἥθει αἰδήμονί τε καὶ γενναίῳ ψυχῇ εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς ἥλιξιν ἡγεμονικὴ τε ἅμα καὶ φιλόφρων οὔσα οὐδὲν ἐπιδεῖται λόγου· ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐραστήν ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, καὶ
- 17 τοῦτο διδάξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τίς μισεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν ὑφ' οὗ εἰδείη καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁρώη αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδέα σπουδάζοντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πιστεύοι μήτ' ἂν παρά τι ποιήσῃ μήτ' ἂν καμῶν ἀμορφότερος γένηται, μειωθῆναι ἂν τὴν φιλίαν;
- 18 οἷς γε μὴν κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτους ἡδέως μὲν προσορᾶν ἀλλήλους, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ προνοεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλων, συνήδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσι, συνάχθεσθαι δὲ ἢν τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ, τότε δ' εὐφραινομένους διατελεῖν ὅταν ὑγιαίνοντες συνῶσιν, ἢν δὲ κάμῃ ὁποτεροσοῦν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν τὴν συνουσίαν ἔχειν, καὶ
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the enjoyment of physical beauty there is a point of surfeit, so that one cannot help feeling toward his favourite the same effect that he gets toward food by gratification of the appetite. But affection for the soul, being pure, is also less liable to satiety, though it does not follow, as one might suppose, that it is also less rich in the graces of Aphrodite; on the contrary, our prayer that the goddess will bestow her grace on our words and deeds is manifestly answered. Now, no further argument is necessary to show that a soul verdant with the beauty of freeborn men and with a disposition that is reverent and noble, a soul that from the very first displays its leadership among its own fellows and is kindly withal, feels an admiration and an affection for the object of its love; but I will go on to prove the reasonableness of the position that such a lover will have his affection returned. First, who could feel dislike for one by whom he knew himself to be regarded as the pattern of nobleness, and, in the next place, saw that he made his favourite's honour of more account than his own pleasure, and beside this felt assured that this affection would not be lessened under any circumstances, no matter whether he suffered some reverse or lost his comeliness through the ravages of illness? Moreover, must not those who enjoy a mutual affection unavoidably take pleasure in looking into each other's faces, converse in amity, and trust and be trusted, and not only take thought each for the other but also take a common joy in prosperity and feel a common distress if some ill fortune befall, and live in happiness when their society is attended by sound health, but be much more constantly together if one or the other become ill, and be even more solicitous, each for the other,

ἀπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ;
 οὐ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφρόδιτα ; διὰ γέ τοι τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἔργα ἅμα ἐρῶντες τῆς φιλίας καὶ χρώ-
 19 μενοι αὐτῇ εἰς γῆρας διατελοῦσι. τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
 σώματος κρεμάμενον διὰ τί ἀντιφιλήσειεν ἂν ὁ
 παῖς ; πότερον ὅτι ἐαυτῷ μὲν νέμει ὦν ἐπιθυμεῖ,
 τῷ δὲ παιδί τὰ ἐπονειδιστότατα ; ἢ διότι ἂ σπεύ-
 δει πράττειν παρὰ τῶν παιδικῶν, εἴργει μάλιστα
 20 τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπὸ τούτων ; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ
 βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πείθει, διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον μιση-
 τέος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βιαζόμενος ἐαυτὸν πονηρὸν ἀπο-
 δεικνύει, ὁ δὲ πείθων τὴν τοῦ ἀναπειθομένου
 21 ψυχὴν διαφθείρει. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ χρημάτων
 γε ἀπεμπολῶν τὴν ὥραν τί μᾶλλον στέρξει τὸν
 πριάμενον ἢ ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ πωλῶν καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος ;
 οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε ὥραῖος ἰώρῳ, οὐδὲ ὅτι γε καλὸς
 οὐκέτι καλῷ καὶ ἐρῶντι οὐκ ἐρῶν ὁμιλεῖ φιλήσει
 αὐτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὥσπερ γυνὴ
 κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις εὐφροσυνῶν,
 ἀλλὰ νήφων μεθύοντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης θεᾶται.
 22 ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑπερορᾶν ἐγ-
 γίγνεται αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. καὶ σκοπῶν δ' ἂν τις
 εὔροι ἐκ μὲν τῶν διὰ τοὺς τρόπους φιλουμένων
 οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν γεγεννημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀναιδοῦς
 23 ὁμιλίας πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ ἀνόσια πεπραγμένα. ὥς
 δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἢ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μάλ-
 λον ἢ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαπῶντι, νῦν τοῦτο δηλώ-

when absent than when present? Are not all these things marked by Aphrodite's grace? It is by conducting themselves thus that men continue mutually to love friendship and enjoy it clear down to old age. But what is there to induce a favourite to make a return of affection to a lover who bases his feeling solely on the flesh? Would it be the consideration that the lover allots to himself the joys he desires but gives the favourite only what excites the deepest contempt? Or that he conceals, as best he can, from the favourite's relatives the ends that he is bent on attaining? As for his using entreaty rather than coercion, that is all the stronger reason for detestation. For any one who applies force merely discovers his rascality, but he who uses persuasion corrupts the soul of the one upon whom he prevails. Once more, how will he who traffics in his beauty feel greater affection toward the buyer than he who puts his produce up for sale and disposes of it in the open market? For assuredly he will not be moved to affection because he is a youthful companion to one who is not youthful, or because he is handsome when the other is no longer so, or because he is untouched by passion when the other is in its sway. For a youth does not share in the pleasure of the intercourse as a woman does, but looks on, sober, at another in love's intoxication. Consequently, it need not excite any surprise if contempt for the lover is engendered in him. If one looked into the matter, also, he would descry no ill effect when people are loved for their personality, but that many shocking results have come from companionship lost to shame. I will now go on to show also that the union is servile when one's regard is for the body

- σω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παιδεύων λέγειν τε ἂν δεῖ καὶ
 πράττειν δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ Χείρων καὶ Φοῖνιξ
 ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως τιμῶτο, ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὀρεγό-
 μενος εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς περιέποιτο. αἰὲν
 γὰρ τοι προσαιτῶν καὶ προσδεόμενος ἢ φιλήματος
 24 ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ψηλαφήματος παρακολουθεῖ. εἰ
 δὲ λαμυρώτερον λέγω, μὴ θαυμάζετε· ὁ τε γὰρ
 οἶνος συνεπαίρει καὶ ὁ αἰὲν σύννοικος ἐμοὶ ἔρως κεν-
 τρίζει εἰς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἔρωτα αὐτῷ παρρησιά-
 25 ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ δοκεῖ μοι ὁ μὲν τῷ εἶδει τὸν
 νοῦν προσέχων μεμισθωμένῳ χώρον εἰκέναι. οὐ
 γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελεῖται,
 ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείστα ὠραῖα καρπώσεται.
 ὁ δὲ τῆς φιλίας ἐφιέμενος μᾶλλον ἔοικε τῷ τὸν
 οἰκεῖον ἀγρὸν κεκτημένῳ· πάντοθεν γοῦν φέρων
 ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται πλείονος ἄξιον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον.
 26 καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ὅς μὲν ἂν εἰδῇ ὅτι ὁ
 τοῦ εἵδους ἐπαρκῶν ἄρξει τοῦ ἐραστοῦ, εἰκὸς
 αὐτὸν τᾶλλα ῥαδιουργεῖν· ὅς δ' ἂν γιγνώσκῃ ὅτι
 ἂν μὴ καλὸς ἀγαθὸς ἦ, οὐ καθέξει τὴν φιλίαν,
 τοῦτον προσήκει μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
 27 μέγιστον δ' ἀγαθὸν τῷ ὀρεγομένῳ ἐκ παιδικῶν
 φίλον ἀγαθὸν ποιήσασθαι ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸν
 ἀσκεῖν ἀρετὴν. οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε πονηρὰ αὐτὸν
 ποιοῦντα ἀγαθὸν τὸν συνόντα ἀποδείξαι, οὐδέ γε
 28 καὶ αἰδούμενον τὸν ἐρώμενον ποιῆσαι. ἐπιθυμῶ
 δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Καλλία, καὶ μυθολογήσαι ὥς οὐ
 μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες τὴν τῆς

¹ Cheiron, the just Centaur, and Phoenix, an exile who was received into the household of Peleus; both were tutors to the young Achilles.

rather than when it is for the soul. For he who inculcates right speech and conduct would merit the honour given by Achilles to Cheiron and Phoenix;¹ but the man who lusts only after the flesh would with good reason be treated like a mendicant; for he is always dogging the footsteps of his favourite, begging and beseeching the favour of one more kiss or some other caress. Do not be surprised at my plain speaking; the wine helps to incite me, and the kind of love that ever dwells with me spurs me on to say what I think about its opposite. For, to my way of thinking, the man whose attention is attracted only by his beloved's appearance is like one who has rented a farm; his aim is not to increase its value but to gain from it as much of a harvest as he can for himself. On the other hand, the man whose goal is friendship is more like one possessing a farm of his own; at any rate he utilizes all sources to enhance his loved one's worth. Furthermore, the favourite who realizes that he who lavishes physical charms will be the lover's sovereign will in all likelihood be loose in his general conduct; but the one who feels that he cannot keep his lover faithful without nobility of character will more probably give heed to virtue. But the greatest blessing that befalls the man who yearns to render his favourite a good friend is the necessity of himself making virtue his habitual practice. For one cannot produce goodness in his companion while his own conduct is evil, nor can he himself exhibit shamelessness and incontinence and at the same time render his beloved self-controlled and reverent. My heart is set on showing you, Callias, on the basis of olden tales, also, that not only humankind but also gods and

29 ψυχῆς φιλίαν περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὴν τοῦ σώματος
 χρήσιν ποιοῦνται. Ζεὺς τε γὰρ ὅσων μὲν θνητῶν
 οὐσῶν μορφῆς ἡράσθη, συγγενόμενος εἶα αὐτὰς
 θνητὰς εἶναι· ὅσων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀγασθείη, ἀθανά-
 30 τούς τούτους ἐποίει· ὦν Ἡρακλῆς μὲν καὶ Διόσ-
 κοροί εἰσι, λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καὶ ἐγὼ δέ
 φημι καὶ Γανυμήδην οὐ σώματος ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς
 ἔνεκα ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἀνενεχθῆναι. μαρτυ-
 ρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δήπου
 καὶ Ὀμήρῳ,

γάννυται δέ τ' ἀκούων.

τοῦτο δὲ φράζει ὅτι ἡδεται δέ τ' ἀκούων. ἔστι δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλοθί που,

πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδώς.

τοῦτο δ' αὖ λέγει σοφὰ φρεσὶ βουλευμάτων εἰδώς.
 ἐξ οὖν συναμφοτέρων τούτων οὐχ ἡδυσώματος
 ὀνομασθεὶς ὁ Γανυμήδης ἀλλ' ἡδυγνώμων ἐν θεοῖς
 31 τετίμηται. ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὦ Νικήρατε, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 Ὀμήρῳ πεποιήται οὐχ ὡς παιδικοῖς Πατρόκλῳ
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἐταίρῳ ἀποθανόντι ἐκπρεπέστατα τιμω-
 ρῆσαι. καὶ Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ Πυλάδης καὶ Θησεὺς
 καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμιθέων
 οἱ ἄριστοι ὑμνοῦνται οὐ διὰ τὸ συγκαθεύδειν ἀλλὰ

¹ Castor and Pollux.

² Nothing like the first expression, except the bare occur-
 rence of γάννυται ("he joys"), is to be found anywhere in the
 extant Homeric poems. The second phrase, also, is not in
 these poems, although several different expressions much
 resembling it are to be seen in the *Iliad*, vii. 278, xvii. 325,
 xviii. 363, xxiv. 88, 282, 674 and the *Odyssey*, ii. 38, xi. 445,

demi-gods set higher value on the friendship of the spirit than on the enjoyment of the body. For in all cases where Zeus became enamoured of mortal women for their beauty, though he united with them he suffered them to remain mortal; but all those persons whom he delighted in for their souls' sake he made immortal. Among the latter are Heracles and the Sons of Zeus;¹ and tradition includes others also. And I aver that even in the case of Ganymede, it was not his person but his spiritual character that influenced Zeus to carry him up to Olympus. This is confirmed by his very name. Homer, you remember, has the words,

‘He joys to hear’;²

that is to say, ‘he rejoices to hear;’ and in another place,

‘harbouring shrewd devices in his heart.’

This, again, means ‘harbouring wise counsels in his heart.’ So the name given Gany-mede, compounded of the two foregoing elements, signifies not *physically* but *mentally* attractive;³ hence his honour among the gods. Or again, Niceratus, Homer pictures us Achilles looking upon Patroclus not as the object of his passion but as a comrade, and in this spirit signally avenging his death. So we have songs telling also how Orestes, Pylades, Theseus, Peirithous, and many other illustrious demi-gods wrought glorious deeds of valour side by side, not because

xix. 353, xx. 46. Either Xenophon's memory is faulty or he is quoting from some of the lost epics.

³ Socrates takes the name Ganymede to be a compound of the two archaic words *ganytai* (“he joys,” “exults”) and *medea* (“devices,” “thoughts”).

διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι ἀλλήλους τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλ-
 32 λιστα κοινῇ διαπεπράχθαι. τί δέ; τὰ νῦν καλὰ
 ἔργα οὐ πάντ' ἂν εὖροι τις ἔνεκα ἐπαίνου ὑπὸ τῶν
 καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθελόντων πραττόμενα
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθιζομένων ἡδονὴν ἀντ' εὐ-
 κλείας αἰρεῖσθαι; καίτοι Πανσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγάθω-
 νος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐραστῆς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἀκρασία ἐγκαλινδουμένων εἴρηκεν ὡς καὶ στρά-
 τευμα ἀλκιμώτατον ἂν γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν τε
 33 καὶ ἐραστῶν. τούτους γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἷεσθαι
 μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους ἀπολείπειν, θαυμα-
 στα λέγων, εἴ γε οἱ ψόγου τε ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ
 ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθιζόμενοι οὗτοι
 34 μάλιστα αἰσχυνοῦνται αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν. καὶ
 μαρτύρια δὲ ἐπήγετο ὡς ταῦτα ἐγνωκότες εἶεν καὶ
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι· συγκαθεύδοντας γοῦν αὐτοῖς
 ὅμως παρατάττεσθαι ἔφη τὰ παιδικὰ εἰς τὸν
 ἀγῶνα, οὐδὲν τοῦτο σημεῖον λέγων ὅμοιον. ἐκεί-
 νοις μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα νόμιμα, ἡμῖν δ' ἐποιεῖδιστα.
 δοκοῦσι δ' ἔμοιγε οἱ μὲν παραταττόμενοι ἀπιστοῦ-
 σιν εἰκέναι μὴ χωρὶς γενόμενοι οἱ ἐρώμενοι οὐκ
 35 ἀποτελῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι δὲ οἱ νομίζοντες, εἰ καὶ ὀρεχθῇ τις
 σώματος, μηδενὸς ἂν ἔτι καλοῦ κάγαθοῦ τοῦτου
 τυχεῖν, οὕτως τελέως τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἀγαθοὺς
 ἀπεργάζονται ὡς καὶ μετὰ ξένων καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ

they shared a common bed but because of mutual admiration and respect. Moreover, take the splendid feats of the present day; would not a person discover that they are all done for glory's sake by persons willing to endure hardship and jeopardy, rather than by those who are drifting into the habit of preferring pleasure to a good name? Yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, has said in his defence of those who wallow in lasciviousness that the most valiant army, even, would be one recruited of lovers and their favourites! For these, he said, would in his opinion be most likely to be prevented by shame from deserting one another,—a strange assertion, indeed, that persons acquiring an habitual indifference to censure and to abandoned conduct toward one another will be most likely to be deterred by shame from any infamous act. But he went further and adduced as evidence in support of his position both the Thebans and the Eleans, alleging that this was their policy; he stated, in fine, that though sharing common beds they nevertheless assigned to their favourites places alongside themselves in the battle-line. But this is a false analogy; for such practices, though normal among them, with us are banned by the severest reprobation. My own view is that those who assign these posts in battle suggest thereby that they are suspicious that the objects of their love, if left by themselves, will not perform the duties of brave men. In contrast to this, the Lacedaemonians, who hold that if a person so much as feels a carnal concupiscence he will never come to any good end, cause the objects of their love to be so consummately brave that even when arrayed with foreigners and even when not stationed in the same

- αὐτῇ¹ ταχθῶσι τῷ ἐραστῇ, ὁμοίως αἰδοῦνται
 τοὺς παρόντας ἀπολείπειν. θεὰν γὰρ οὐ τὴν
 36 Ἀναΐδειαν ἀλλὰ τὴν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι. δοκοῦμεν
 δ' ἂν μοι πάντες ὁμόλογοι γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν λέγω,
 εἰ ὧδε ἐπισκοποῖμεν, τῷ ποτέρως παιδὶ φιλη-
 θέντι μᾶλλον ἂν τις πιστεύσειεν ἢ χρήματα ἢ
 τέκνα ἢ χάριτας παρακατατίθεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν
 γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῷ εἶδει τοῦ ἐρωμένου
 χρώμενον μᾶλλον ἂν ταῦτα πάντα τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν
 37 ἐρασμῷ πιστεύσαι. σοί γε μήν, ὦ Καλλία,
 δοκεῖ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι καὶ θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὅτι
 σοι Αὐτολύκου ἔρωτα ἐνέβαλον. ὥς μὲν γὰρ
 φιλότιμός ἐστιν εὐδῆλον, ὅς τοῦ κηρυχθῆναι ἔνεκα
 νικῶν παγκράτιον πολλοὺς μὲν πόνους, πολλὰ δ'
 38 ἄλγη ἀνέχεται. εἰ δὲ οἷοιτο μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 τὸν πατέρα κοσμήσειν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸς γενήσεσθαι
 δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν
 πατρίδα αὔξειν τρόπαια τῶν πολεμίων ἱστάμενος,
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα περίβλεπτός τε καὶ ὀνομαστός
 ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, πῶς
 οὐκ οἶει αὐτόν, ὅντιν' ἡγοῖτο εἰς ταῦτα συνεργὸν
 εἶναι κράτιστον, τοῦτον ταῖς μεγίσταις ἂν τιμαῖς
 39 περιέπειν ; εἰ οὖν βούλει τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν, σκεπτέον
 μὲν σοι ποῖα ἐπιστάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἱκανὸς
 ἐγένετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν, σκεπτέον δὲ
 ποῖά ποτε εἰδὼς Περικλῆς κράτιστος ἐδόκει τῇ
 πατρίδι σύμβουλος εἶναι, ἀθρητέον δὲ καὶ πῶς
 ποτε Σόλων φιλοσοφήσας νόμους κρατίστους τῇ

¹ αὐτῇ ; αὐτῇ πόλει MSS. ; Sauppe brackets πόλει.

line with their lovers they just as surely feel ashamed to desert their comrades. For the goddess they worship is not Impudence but Modesty. We could all come to one mind, I think, on the point I am trying to make, if we were to consider the question in this way : of two lads, the objects of the different types of love, which one would a person prefer to trust with his money, or his children, or to lay under the obligation of a favour? My own belief is that even the person whose love is founded on the loved one's physical beauty would in all these cases rather put his trust in him whose loveliness is of the spirit. In your case, Callias, I deem it meet that you should thank Heaven for inspiring you with love for Autolyceus. For his ardour for glory is manifest, inasmuch as he undergoes many toils and many bodily discomforts to ensure his being proclaimed victor in the pancratium. Now if he were to believe that he is going not merely to shed lustre on himself and his father but also to acquire through his manly virtue the ability to serve his friends and to exalt his country by setting up trophies of victory over its enemies, and for these reasons draw the admiring glances of all and be famous among both Greeks and barbarians, do you not suppose that he would esteem and honour highly any one whom he looked upon as the best partner in furthering these designs? If, then, you would be in his good graces, you must try to find out what sort of knowledge it was that made Themistocles able to give Greece liberty ; you must try to find out what kind of knowledge it was that gave Pericles the name of being his country's wisest counsellor ; you must reflect, further, how it was that Solon by deep meditation established in his city laws

- πόλει κατέθηκεν, ἐρευνητέον δὲ καὶ ποῖα Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἀσκούντες κράτιστοι δοκοῦσιν ἡγεμόνες
εἶναι· πρόξενος δ' εἰ καὶ κατάγονται αἰὲ παρὰ
40 σοὶ οἱ κράτιστοι αὐτῶν. ὥς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις
ταχὺ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὖ ἴσθι.
τὰ μέγιστα γάρ σοι ὑπάρχει· εὐπατρίδης εἰ, τῶν¹
ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως, ἱερεὺς θεῶν οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβα-
ρον σὺν Ἰάκχῳ ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ
ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημέ-
νων, καὶ σῶμα ἀξιοπρεπέστατον μὲν ἰδεῖν τῆς
41 πόλεως ἔχεις, ἱκανὸν δὲ μόχθους ὑποφέρειν. εἰ
δ' ὑμῖν δοκῶ σπουδαιολογῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ
πότον πρέπει, μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάζετε. ἀγαθῶν
γὰρ φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοτίμως ἐφιεμένων
αἰεὶ ποτε τῇ πόλει συνεραστής ὢν διατελῶ.
- 42 Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι περὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων διελέγοντο,

¹ τῶν ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως, ἱερεὺς θεῶν; ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως MSS. The MS. reading should mean: "You are of aristocratic birth, a priest serving the gods who succeeded Erechtheus (or, gods of Erechtheus' line), who under the leadership of Iacchus" etc. This involves two difficulties: (1) in the numerous Attic references to this brilliant period, we find no hint of any part taken in the Persian Wars by any descendants or "successors" of Erechtheus; and (2) there is no evidence that Callias was a priest to any such descendants or "successors." The suggested transposition of the text avoids these difficulties and provides for two well-authenticated facts: (1) the tradition mentioned by Herodotus and Plutarch that the Eleusinian deities encouraged the Greeks just before the battle of Salamis by a portentous vision; and (2) Callias's priesthood in the Eleusinian worship.

¹ In the absence of regular consular representation, any Greek city-state could secure commercial and political agents in other cities only by getting influential citizens there to consent to use their good offices, as occasion might arise, in its behalf or in behalf of its citizens when abroad. Such a local native representative of another state was called a *proxenus*.

of surpassing worth; you must search and find out what kind of practices it is that gives the Lacedaemonians the reputation of being pre-eminent military commanders; for you are their proxenus,¹ and their foremost citizens are always being entertained at your house. You may regard it as certain, therefore, that our city would be quick to entrust itself to your hands, if you so desire. For you possess the highest qualifications for such a trust: you are of aristocratic birth, of Erechtheus' line,² a priest serving the gods who under the leadership of Iacchus took the field against the barbarian;³ and in our day you outshine your predecessors in the splendour of your priestly office in the festival;⁴ and you possess a person more goodly to the eye than any other in the city and one at the same time able to withstand effort and hardship. If what I say appears to you gentlemen to be too grave and earnest for a drinking party, I beg you again not to be surprised. For during practically all my life I have been at one with the commonwealth in loving men who to a nature already good add a zealous desire for virtue."

The rest of the company now engaged in a dis-

² Callias's family belonged to the priestly clan of the Ceryces, who traced their lineage back to Ceryx, son of Hermes and Aglaurus. The latter, however, was not a descendant of Erechtheus, but one of his nurses.

³ Herodotus (VIII, 65) and Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles*, XV) report the tradition that while the Greek fleet was at anchor near Salamis just before the critical sea-fight, great elation was caused at sight of a big cloud of dust (or, in the later version, a brilliant light) off toward Eleusis, and a wonderful sound as of the Eleusinian festival with its cries to Iacchus, followed by a cloud that drifted directly toward the fleet.

⁴ In addition to being one of the priestly Ceryces, Callias was an hereditary torch-bearer in the Eleusinian festival.

ὁ δ' Αὐτόλυκος κατεθεᾶτο τὸν Καλλίαν. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας δὲ παρορῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν σύ με, ὦ Σώκρατες, μαστροπεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως πράττω τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀρεστὸς ὦ αὐτῇ ;

- 43 Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη, ἣν ὁρῶσί γέ σε μὴ τῷ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψευδὴς δόξα ταχὺ ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας· ἡ δ' ἀληθὴς ἀνδραγαθία, ἣν μὴ θεὸς βλάβπη, ἀεὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λαμπροτέραν τὴν εὐκλειαν συμπαρέχεται.

ΙΧ. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. Αὐτόλυκος δέ, ἥδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον· καὶ ὁ Λύκων ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ συνεξιὼν ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶπε· Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλὸς γε κάγαθὸς δοκεῖς μοι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν θρόνος τις ἔνδον κατετέθη, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀριάδνη εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Διονύσου θάλαμον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ἥξει Διόνυσος ὑποπεπωκὼς παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἔπειτα παιζοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

- 3 Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὕπῳ δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου ηὐλεῖτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός. ἔνθα δὴ ἡγάσθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἀκού-

cussion of the views propounded by Socrates; but Autolycus kept his eyes fixed on Callias. And Callias, addressing Socrates, but looking beyond him and returning the gaze of Autolycus, said: "So you intend acting the procurer, do you, Socrates, to bring me to the attention of the commonwealth, so that I may enter politics, and the state may always look upon me with favour?"

"Assuredly," was the reply, "that is, if people see that you set your heart on virtue, not in pretence, but in reality. For false reputation is soon exposed when tried by experience, whereas true manly virtue,—barring the interposition of Providence,—confers ever more and more brilliant glory when put to the test of actual deeds."

IX. Their conversation ended here. Autolycus got up to go out for a walk (it being now his usual time); and his father Lycon, as he was departing to accompany him, turned back and said: "So help me Hera, Socrates, you seem to me to have a truly noble character."

After he had withdrawn, a chair of state, first of all, was set down in the room, and then the Syracusan came in with the announcement: "Gentlemen, Ariadne will now enter the chamber set apart for her and Dionysus; after that, Dionysus, a little flushed with wine drunk at a banquet of the gods, will come to join her; and then they will disport themselves together."

Then, to start proceedings, in came Ariadne, appavelled as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Dionysus being still invisible, there was heard the Bacchic music played on a flute. Then it was that the assemblage was filled with admiration of the dancing master. For as soon as Ariadne heard the

σασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὥς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι
 ἀσμένῃ ἤκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὐ οὐδὲ ἀνέστη,
 4 δῆλη δ' ἦν μόλις ἡρεμοῦσα. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν κατείδεν
 αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
 φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ
 περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ' αἰδουμένη μὲν
 ἑώκει, ὅμως δὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ
 δὲ συμπόται ὀρώντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ
 5 ἐβόων Αὐθις. ὥς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος
 συνανέστησε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀριάδνην, ἐκ τού-
 του δὴ φιλοῦντων τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἀλλήλους
 σχήματα παρῆν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὀρώντες ὄντως
 καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδνην,
 οὐ σκώπτοντας δὲ ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι
 6 φιλοῦντας, πάντες ἀνεπτερωμένοι ἐθεῶντο. καὶ
 γὰρ ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν
 εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνυούσης ὥστε
 μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
 ἅπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἢ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν
 παῖδα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἑώκεσαν γὰρ οὐ
 δεδιδαγμένοις τὰ σχήματα ἀλλ' ἐφειμένοις πράτ-
 7 τειν ἂν πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν. τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται
 ἰδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὥς εἰς
 εὐνὴν ἀπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμνυσαν,
 οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
 ἀπήλαυνον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὅπως τού-
 των τύχοιεν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
 ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν
 Καλλίᾳ περιπατήσαντες ἀπῆλθον.

Αἷτη τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσις ἐγένετο.

strain, her action was such that every one might have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus, nor even rise, yet it was clear that she kept her composure with difficulty. But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner sat himself on her lap, and putting his arms about her gave her a kiss. Her demeanour was all modesty, and yet she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters beheld it, they kept clapping and crying "encore!" Then when Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, there was presented the impersonation of lovers kissing and caressing each other. The onlookers viewed a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and they were all raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm as they looked on. For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus but all the bystanders as well would have taken their oaths in confirmation that the youth and the maid surely felt a mutual affection. For theirs was the appearance not of actors who had been taught their poses but of persons now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires. At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other's embrace and obviously leaving for the bridal couch, those who were unwedded swore that they would take to themselves wives, and those who were already married mounted horse and rode off to their wives that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son in their walk.

So broke up the banquet held that evening.

SOCRATES'
DEFENCE TO THE JURY

INTRODUCTION

IN the year 399 B.C., Socrates, then about seventy years old, was brought to trial by Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon on an indictment charging him with subversion of religion and morals. The fullest account of Socrates at this crisis is to be found in Plato's *Euthyphro*, *Apology of Socrates*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*. Apparently other admirers also of the great man had described the trial and the last days of his life, but Xenophon, who at that time was with the conglomerate army of Cyrus the Younger on its memorable trip into the heart of Persia, seems to have felt that these various accounts left out one essential point, which he proceeds to develop in the *Apology* or *Defence*.

The first sentence of this composition suggests an intimate connection with something preceding;¹ but this connection is now broken, and whether the *Defence*, as Mahaffy thought, is the original conclusion to Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates*, where, in the last chapter, we find practically the same material in smaller compass, or was meant to be part of some other writing, we have no means to determine. Almost equally indeterminate is the date. It is clear that when the *Defence* was written, both Socrates and Anytus (whose death occurred we

¹ Compare also the beginning of the *Oeconomicus*.

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know not when) had been gone several years, and that several accounts of the trial had already appeared. But there is nothing to show how late the work was written, nor whether it preceded or followed the *Apology* of Plato.

Hermogenes, the authority on whom Xenophon relied, the indigent brother of the rich Callias, appears, both from Xenophon's *Defence* and *Symposium* and from Plato, to have been an intimate in the Socratic circle. Although he is not mentioned in the doubtless incomplete list given in Plato's *Apology* (33 D-34 A) of friends and disciples present at the trial, he is named (in Plato's *Phaedo* 59B) as one of those who were with Socrates at the time of his execution, and so may be presumed to have been cognizant of what happened in those tragic days.

Xenophon's design in writing the present account was not to give a full report of the trial or even of Socrates' address to the jury, but to show that because Socrates believed it time for him to die he had a common-sense basis for his sublime attitude before the court; but while Plato, the only eye-witness whose work is extant, represents Socrates as telling the jury that he can face death calmly because of his confidence in a life hereafter,—a doctrine greatly elaborated in the *Phaedo*,—Xenophon does not even mention this faith either in this partial report of the trial or in his *Memoirs of Socrates*, but says that in conversation with Hermogenes before the trial as well as with other friends after it Socrates founded his contentment on the prospect of avoiding the disabilities of old age. Dread of such ills had doubtless filled many a Greek's heart; at

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any rate the theme comes out a number of times in poetry, from the haunting elegy of Mimnermus on. And it seems quite likely that in conversation Socrates had mentioned this commonplace comfort as one reason for his willingness to die ;¹ but whether Plato did not hear it, or thought it not worth recording beside more spiritual thoughts, at any rate he nowhere reports it,² and it is certain that in the publicity of the court-room Socrates dwelt rather on his hope of immortality and of communion with the great men of the past. The reader who wishes to get a true picture of this great man at the climax of his life should therefore not fail to supplement Xenophon's professedly incomplete account by the fuller one of Plato.

¹ Perhaps with the feeling that here at least was an argument that would appeal to his friends.

² The nearest approach to such a sentiment is found in the closing words of Socrates' defence as reported by Plato (*Apology*, 41D): ". . . but this is clear to me, that it were better for me now to die and once and for all be rid of troubles."

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ¹

1. Σωκράτους δὲ ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι μεμνήσθαι καὶ ὥς ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐβουλεύσατο περί τε τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου. γεγράφασι μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ· ὧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδη ἑαυτῷ ἠγείτο αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βίου θάνατον, τοῦτο οὐ διεσαφήνισαν· ὥστε ἀφρονεστέρα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται εἶναι ἢ μεγαληγορία.
- 2 Ἐρμογένης μέντοι ὁ Ἰππονίκου ἐταῖρός τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξήγγειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα ὥστε πρέπουσαν φαίνεσθαι τὴν μεγαληγορίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔφη ὁρῶν αὐτὸν περὶ πάντων μᾶλλον διαλεγόμενον ἢ περὶ τῆς
- 3 δίκης εἰπεῖν, Οὐκ ἐχρῆν μέντοι σκοπεῖν, ὧ Σωκράτες, καὶ ὅ τι ἀπολογήσῃ; τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποκρίνασθαι, Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι ἀπολογεῖσθαι μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς² ἐρέσθαι, Πῶς; "Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον διαγεγένημαι ποιῶν· ἦνπερ νομίζω μελέτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀπολο-
- 4 γίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς³ πάλιν λέγειν, Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ Ἀθηναίων δικαστήρια ὥς πολλάκις μὲν οὐδὲν

¹ Sauppe omits ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ.

² αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.

³ αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.

SOCRATES'

DEFENCE TO THE JURY

It seems to me fitting to hand down to memory, furthermore, how Socrates, on being indicted, deliberated on his defence and on his end. It is true that others have written about this, and that all of them have reproduced the loftiness of his words,—a fact which proves that his utterance really was of the character intimated;—but they have not shown clearly that he had now come to the conclusion that for him death was more to be desired than life; and hence his lofty utterance appears rather ill-considered. Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, however, was a companion of his and has given us reports of such a nature as to show that the sublimity of his speech was appropriate to the resolve he had made. For he stated that on seeing Socrates discussing any and every subject rather than the trial, he had said: “Socrates, ought you not to be giving some thought to what defence you are going to make?” That Socrates had at first replied, “Why, do I not seem to you to have spent my whole life in preparing to defend myself?” Then when he asked, “How so?” he had said, “Because all my life I have been guiltless of wrong-doing; and that I consider the finest preparation for a defence.” Then when Hermogenes again asked, “Do you not observe that the Athenian courts

ἀδικοῦντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολ-
 λάκις δὲ ἀδικοῦντας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου οἰκτίσαντες ἢ
 ἐπιχαρίτως εἰπόντας ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ
 Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ δις ἤδη ἐπιχειρήσαντός μου
 σκοπεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐναντιοῦταί μοι τὸ
 5 δαιμόνιον. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸς¹ εἰπεῖν, Θαυμαστὰ λέ-
 γεις, τὸν δ' αὖ ἀποκρίνασθαι, Ἡ θαυμαστὸν νομί-
 ζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἢδη
 τελευτᾶν; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε οὐδενὶ
 ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἂν βέλτιον ἐμοῦ βεβιωκέναι;
 ὅπερ γὰρ ἡδιστόν ἐστιν, ἡδεῖν ὁσίως μοι καὶ δι-
 καίως ἅπαντα τὸν βίον βεβιωμένον· ὥστε ἰσχυ-
 ρῶς ἀγάμενος ἐμαυτὸν ταῦτ' εὗρισκον καὶ τοὺς
 ἐμοὶ συγγιγνομένους γιγνώσκοντας περὶ ἐμοῦ.
 6 νῦν δὲ εἰ ἔτι προβήσεται ἡ ἡλικία, οἶδ' ὅτι
 ἀνάγκη ἔσται τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἀποτελεῖσθαι καὶ
 ὁρᾶν τε χεῖρον καὶ ἀκούειν ἥττον καὶ δυσμαθέ-
 στερον εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἔμαθον ἐπιλησμονέστερον.
 ἦν δὲ αἰσθάνωμαι χείρων γιγνόμενος καὶ κατα-
 μέμφωμαι ἐμαυτόν, πῶς ἂν, εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ ἔτι ἂν
 7 ἡδέως βιοτεύοιμι; ἴσως δέ τοι, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ
 ὁ θεὸς δι' εὐμένειαν προξενεῖ μοι οὐ μόνον τὸ
 ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡλικίας καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸ ἢ ῥᾶστα. ἦν γὰρ νῦν κατακριθῇ μου,²
 δῆλον ὅτι ἐξέσται μοι τῇ τελευτῇ χρῆσθαι ἢ
 ῥᾶστη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τούτου ἐπιμεληθέντων κέκρι-
 ται, ἀπραγμονεστάτη δὲ τοῖς φίλοις, πλείστον δὲ
 πόθον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῦ τελευτῶντος. ὅταν γὰρ

¹ αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.

² Sauppe reads (by a misprint?) μοι.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 4-7

have often been carried away by an eloquent speech and have condemned innocent men to death, and often on the other hand the guilty have been acquitted either because their plea aroused compassion or because their speech was witty?" "Yes, indeed!" he had answered; "and I have tried twice already to meditate on my defence, but my divine sign interposes." And when Hermogenes observed, "That is a surprising statement," he had replied, "Do you think it surprising that even God holds it better for me to die now? Do you not know that I would refuse to concede that any man has lived a better life than I have up to now? For I have realized that my whole life has been spent in righteousness toward God and man,—a fact that affords the greatest satisfaction; and so I have felt a deep self-respect and have discovered that my associates hold corresponding sentiments toward me. But now, if my years are prolonged, I know that the frailties of old age will inevitably be realized,—that my vision must be less perfect and my hearing less keen, that I shall be slower to learn and more forgetful of what I have learned. If I perceive my decay and take to complaining, how," he had continued, "could I any longer take pleasure in life? Perhaps," he added, "God in his kindness is taking my part and securing me the opportunity of ending my life not only in season but also in the way that is easiest. For if I am condemned now, it will clearly be my privilege to suffer a death that is adjudged by those who have superintended this matter to be not only the easiest but also the least irksome to one's friends and one that implants in them the deepest feeling of loss for the dead. For when a person leaves behind in

- ἄσχημον μὲν μηδὲν μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις
τῶν παρόντων καταλίπηται, ὑγιὲς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένην φιλοφρονεῖσθαι ἀπο-
μαραίνεται, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτον ποθεῖνόν
8 εἶναι; ὀρθῶς δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τότε μου ἠναντιοῦντο,
φάναι αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἐπισκέψει ὅτε ἐδόκει
ἡμῖν¹ ζητητέα εἶναι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ ἀποφευ-
κτικά. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο διεπραξάμην, δῆλον ὅτι
ἡτοιμασάμην ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤδη λῆξαι τοῦ βίου ἢ
νόσοις ἀλγυνόμενος τελευτῆσαι ἢ γήρα, εἰς ὃ
πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεῖ καὶ μάλα ἔρημα τῶν
9 εὐφροσυνῶν. μὰ Δί', εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης,
ἐγὼ ταῦτα οὐδὲ προθυμήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅσων νομίζω
τετυχηκέναί καλῶν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ'
ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἦν ἐγὼ δόξαν ἔχω περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ,
ταύτην ἀναφαίνων εἰ βαρυνῶ τοὺς δικαστάς,
αἵρήσομαι τελευτᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνελευθέρως τὸ ζῆν
ἔτι προσαιτῶν κερδᾶναι τὸν πολὺ χεῖρω βίον ἀντὶ
θανάτου.
- 10 Οὕτως δὲ γνόντα αὐτόν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ κατηγό-
ρησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίδικοι ὡς οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομί-
ζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζοι, ἕτερα δὲ καὶνὰ δαιμόνια
εἰσφέρει καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείροι, παρελθόντα
11 εἰπεῖν· Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον
θαυμάζω Μελήτου ὃ τῷ ποτὲ γνοὺς λέγει ὡς ἐγὼ
οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω· ἐπεὶ θύοντά
γέ με ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων
βωμῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες ἐώρων
12 καὶ αὐτὸς Μέλητος, εἰ ἐβούλετο. καὶνὰ γε μὴν
δαιμόνια πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ εἰσφέροιμι λέγων ὅτι θεοῦ

¹ Sauppe adopts Weiske's emendation ὑμῖν.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 7-12

the hearts of his companions no remembrance to cause a blush or a pang, but dissolution comes while he still possesses a sound body and a spirit capable of showing kindness, how could such a one fail to be sorely missed? It was with good reason," Socrates had continued, "that the gods opposed¹ my studying up my speech at the time when we held that by fair means or foul we must find some plea that would effect my acquittal. For if I had achieved this end, it is clear that instead of now passing out of life, I should merely have provided for dying in the throes of illness or vexed by old age, the sink into which all distresses flow, unrelieved by any joy. As Heaven is my witness, Hermogenes," he had gone on, "I shall never court that fate; but if I am going to offend the jury by declaring all the blessings that I feel gods and men have bestowed on me, as well as my personal opinion of myself, I shall prefer death to begging meanly for longer life and thus gaining a life far less worthy in exchange for death."

Hermogenes stated that with this resolve Socrates came before the jury after his adversaries had charged him with not believing in the gods worshipped by the state and with the introduction of new deities in their stead and with corruption of the young, and replied: "One thing that I marvel at in Meletus, gentlemen, is what may be the basis of his assertion that I do not believe in the gods worshipped by the state; for all who have happened to be near at the time, as well as Meletus himself,—if he so desired,—have seen me sacrificing at the communal festivals and on the public altars. As for introducing 'new divinities,' how could I be guilty of that merely in

¹ See note on p. 494.

- μοι φωνὴ φαίνεται σημαίνουσα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ; καὶ γὰρ οἱ φθόγγοις οἰωνῶν καὶ οἱ φήμαις ἀνθρώπων χρώμενοι φωναῖς δήπου τεκμαίρονται. βροντὰς δὲ ἀμφιλέξει τις ἢ μὴ φωνεῖν ἢ μὴ μέγιστον οἰωνιστήριον εἶναι ; ἢ δὲ Πυθοῖ ἐν τῷ τρίποδι ἰέρεια οὐ καὶ αὐτὴ φωνὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαγ-
13 γέλλει ; ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προειδέναι γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ᾧ βούλεται, καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ φημι, οὕτω πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰωνοὺς τε καὶ φήμας καὶ συμβόλους τε καὶ μάντεις ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς προσημαίνοντας εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο δαιμόνιον καλῶ, καὶ οἶμαι οὕτως ὀνομάζων καὶ ἀληρέστερα καὶ ὀσιώτερα λέγειν τῶν τοῖς ὄρνισιν ἀνατιθέντων τὴν τῶν θεῶν δύναμιν. ὥς γε μὴ οὐ ψεύδομαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχω τεκμήριον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φίλων πολλοῖς δὴ ἐξαγγείλας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλευματα οὐδεπώποτε ψευδάμενος ἐφάνην.
- 14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἐθορύβουν, οἱ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ φθονοῦντες εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν μειζόνων ἢ αὐτοῖς τυγχάνοι, πάλιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἄγε δὴ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἄλλα, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῶν

¹ Or "divine sign." Here, as earlier, the mere adjective is used ; but in Plato's *Theages* (128 D ff.) and *Apology* (31 D) this admonitory something is described as a voice sent by heavenly dispensation, and is called variously "the sign" (*Apology* 41 D), "the usual sign" (*Apology* 40 C), "the divine sign" (*Rep.* 496 C), "the usual divine sign" (*Euthyd.* 272 E, *Phaedrus* 242 B, *Theages* 129 B), "the sign from God" (*Apology* 40 B), "something God-sent and divine" (*Apology* 31 D). Plato

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 12-14

asserting that a voice of God is made manifest to me indicating my duty? Surely those who take their omens from the cries of birds and the utterances of men form their judgments on 'voices.' Will any one dispute either that thunder utters its 'voice,' or that it is an omen of the greatest moment? Does not the very priestess who sits on the tripod at Delphi divulge the god's will through a 'voice'? But more than that, in regard to God's foreknowledge of the future and his forewarning thereof to whomsoever he will, these are the same terms, I assert, that all men use, and this is their belief. The only difference between them and me is that whereas they call the sources of their forewarning 'birds,' 'utterances,' 'chance meetings,' 'prophets,' I call mine a 'divine' thing;¹ and I think that in using such a term I am speaking with more truth and deeper religious feeling than do those who ascribe the gods' power to birds. Now that I do not lie against God I have the following proof: I have revealed to many of my friends the counsels which God has given me, and in no instance has the event shown that I was mistaken."

Hermogenes further reported that when the jurors raised a clamour at hearing these words, some of them disbelieving his statements, others showing jealousy at his receiving greater favours even from the gods than they, Socrates resumed: "Hark ye; let me tell you something more, so that those of you who feel so inclined may have still greater

reports Socrates' description of this as a voice not directing his actions but serving only as a deterrent when he or his friends were contemplating doing something inadvisable.

ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. Χαιρεφώντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτῶντος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνείλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μὴδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον.

- 15 Ὡς δ' αὖ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἐθορύβουν, αὖθις εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἀλλὰ μείζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν χρησμοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις νομοθετήσαντος ἢ περὶ ἐμοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν νεὼ εἰσιόντα προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, Φροντίζω πότερα θεόν σε εἶπω ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἐμὲ δὲ θεῷ μὲν οὐκ εἵκασεν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολλῷ προέκρινεν ὑπερφέρειν. ὅμως δὲ ὑμεῖς μὴδὲ ταῦτ' εἰκῇ πιστεύσητε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον
- 16 ἐπισκοπεῖτε ὧν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. τίνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ἦττον ἐμοῦ δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις ; τίνα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεριώτερον, ὅς παρ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε δῶρα οὔτε μισθὸν δέχομαι ; δικαιότερον δὲ τίνα ἂν εἰκότως νομίσαιτε τοῦ οὕτω¹ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνηρμοσμένου ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μὴδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι ; σοφὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἄνδρα φήσειεν εἶναι ὃς ἐξ ὅτου περ ξυνιέναι τὰ λεγόμενα ἡρξάμην οὐπώποτε διέλιπον καὶ
- 17 ζητῶν καὶ μαυθάνων ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν ; ὡς δὲ οὐ μάτην ἐπόνουν οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν καὶ τάδε τεκμήρια εἶναι, τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν πολίτας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων, πολλοὺς δὲ ξένων ἐκ πάντων προαιρεῖσθαι ἐμοὶ ξυνεῖναι ; ἐκείνου δὲ τί φήσομεν αἴτιον

¹ οὕτω added by Cobet.

¹ A very enthusiastic follower of Socrates.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 14-17

disbelief in my being honoured of Heaven. Once on a time when Chaerephon¹ made inquiry at the Delphic oracle concerning me, in the presence of many people Apollo answered that no man was more free than I, or more just, or more prudent."

When the jurors, naturally enough, made a still greater tumult on hearing this statement, he said that Socrates again went on: "And yet, gentlemen, the god uttered in oracles greater things of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian law-giver, than he did of me. For there is a legend that, as Lycurgus entered the temple, the god thus addressed him: 'I am pondering whether to call you god or man.' Now Apollo did not compare me to a god; he did, however, judge that I far excelled the rest of mankind. However, do not believe the god even in this without due grounds, but examine the god's utterance in detail. First, who is there in your knowledge that is less a slave to his bodily appetites than I am? Who in the world more free,—for I accept neither gifts nor pay from any one? Whom would you with reason regard as more just than the one so reconciled to his present possessions as to want nothing beside that belongs to another? And would not a person with good reason call me a wise man, who from the time when I began to understand spoken words have never left off seeking after and learning every good thing that I could? And that my labour has not been in vain do you not think is attested by this fact, that many of my fellow-citizens who strive for virtue and many from abroad choose to associate with me above all other men? And what shall we say is accountable for

- εἶναι, τοῦ πάντας εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἤκιστ' ἂν
 ἔχοιμι χρήματα ἀντιδιδόναι, ὅμως πολλοὺς ἐπιθυ-
 μεῖν ἐμοί τι δωρεῖσθαι; τὸ δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μηδ' ὑφ'
 ἐνὸς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι εὐεργεσίας, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς
 18 ὁμολογεῖν χάριτας ὀφείλειν; τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἰκτίρειν ἑαυτούς, ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν
 ἀπορώτερον διάγειν ἢ ὅτε τὰ μάλιστα ἡ πόλις
 ἡὺδαιμόνει¹; τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν τὰς εὐπα-
 θείας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολυτελεῖς πορίζεσθαι, ἐμὲ
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ δαπάνης ἡδίστους ἐκείνων
 μηχανᾶσθαι; εἴ γε μὴν ὅσα εἴρηκα περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ
 μηδεὶς δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελέγξαι με ὥς ψεύδομαι, πῶς
 οὐκ ἂν ἤδη δικαίως καὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώ-
 19 πων ἐπαινοίμην; ἀλλ' ὅμως σύ με φῆς, ὦ Μέλητε,
 τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντα τοὺς νέους διαφθείρειν;
 καίτοι ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν δήπου τίνες εἰσὶ νέων δια-
 φθοραί· σὺ δὲ εἶπὲ εἴ τινα οἶσθα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγε-
 νημένον ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς ἀνόσιον ἢ ἐκ σώφρονος
 ὑβριστὴν ἢ ἐξ εὐδαιμόνου πολυδάπανον ἢ ἐκ
 20 μετριοπότου οἰνόφλυγα ἢ ἐκ φιλοπόνου μαλακὸν
 ἢ ἄλλης πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἡττημένον. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ
 μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Μέλητος, ἐκείνους οἶδα οὓς σὺ
 πέπεικας σοὶ πείθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς γειναμέ-
 νοις. Ὁμολογῶ, φάναι τὸν Σωκράτην, περὶ γε
 παιδείας· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσασιν ἐμοὶ μεμεληκός. περὶ
 δὲ ὑγιείας τοῖς ἰατροῖς μᾶλλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι πεί-
 θονται ἢ τοῖς γονεῦσι· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γε

¹ εὐδαιμόνει one MS.; εὐδαιμονεῖ Sauppe with the other MSS.

¹ The blockade of Athens by the Spartans in the last year of the Peloponnesian War.

this fact, that although everybody knows that it is quite impossible for me to repay with money, many people are eager to make me some gift? Or for this, that no demands are made on me by a single person for the repayment of benefits, while many confess that they owe me a debt of gratitude? Or for this, that during the siege,¹ while others were commiserating their lot, I got along without feeling the pinch of poverty any worse than when the city's prosperity was at its height? Or for this, that while other men get their delicacies in the markets and pay a high price for them, I devise more pleasurable ones from the resources of my soul, with no expenditure of money? And now, if no one can convict me of misstatement in all that I have said of myself, do I not unquestionably merit praise from both gods and men? But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices? And yet surely we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure." "But, by Heaven!" said Meletus: "there is one set of men I know,—those whom you have persuaded to obey you rather than their parents." "I admit it," he reports Socrates as replying, "at least so far as education is concerned; for people know that I have taken an interest in that. But in a question of health, men take the advice of physicians rather than that of their parents; and

- πάντες δὴπου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς φρονιμώτατα
λέγουσι πείθονται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς προσήκουσιν.
οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ στρατηγούς αἰρεῖσθε καὶ πρὸ πατέ-
ρων καὶ πρὸ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία γε ὑμεῖς
πρὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οὓς ἂν ἡγήσθε περὶ τῶν πολε-
μικῶν φρονιμωτάτους εἶναι ; Οὕτω γάρ, φάναι τὸν
Μέλητον, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ συμφέρεи καὶ νομίζε-
21 ται. Οὕκουν, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην, θαυμαστὸν
καὶ τοῦτό σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις
πράξεσι μὴ μόνον ἰσομοιρίας τυγχάνειν τοὺς κρα-
τίστους ἀλλὰ καὶ προτετιμῆσθαι, ἐμὲ δέ, ὅτι περὶ
τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώποις, περὶ παιδείας,
βέλτιστος εἶναι ὑπὸ τινων προκρίνομαι, τούτου
ἔνεκα θανάτου ὑπὸ σοῦ διώκεσθαι ;
- 22 Ἐρρήθη μὲν δῆλον ὅτι τούτων πλείονα ὑπό τε
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναγορευόντων φίλων αὐτῷ. ἀλλ'
ἐγὼ οὐ τὰ πάντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἐσπού-
δασα, ἀλλ' ἤρκεσέ μοι δηλῶσαι ὅτι Σωκράτης τὸ
μὲν μήτε περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβῆσαι μήτε περὶ ἀνθρώ-
πους ἄδικος φανῆναι περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο· τὸ δέ
μὴ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ᾔετο λιπαρητέον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
- 23 καὶ καιρὸν ἤδη ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ τελευτᾶν. ὅτι δέ
οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκε καταδηλότερον ἐγίγνετο ἐπειδὴ
ἡ δίκη κατεψηφίσθη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κελευό-
μενος ὑποτιμᾶσθαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ὑπετιμήσατο οὔτε
τοὺς φίλους εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ ὑποτι-
μᾶσθαι ὁμολογοῦντος εἶη ἀδικεῖν. ἔπειτα τῶν
ἐταίρων ἐκκλέψαι βουλομένων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφεί-

moreover, in the meetings of the legislative assembly all the people of Athens, without question, follow the advice of those whose words are wisest rather than that of their own relatives. Do you not also elect for your generals, in preference to fathers and brothers,—yes, by Heaven! in preference to your very selves,—those whom you regard as having the greatest wisdom in military affairs?" "Yes," Meletus had said; "for that is both expedient and conventional." "Well, then," Socrates had rejoined, "does it not seem to you an amazing thing that while in other activities those who excel receive honours not merely on a parity with their fellows but even more marked ones, yet I, because I am adjudged by some people supreme in what is man's greatest blessing,—education,—am being prosecuted by you on a capital charge?"

More than this of course was said both by Socrates himself and by the friends who joined in his defence. But I have not made it a point to report the whole trial; rather I am satisfied to make it clear that while Socrates' whole concern was to keep free from any act of impiety toward the gods or any appearance of wrong-doing toward man, he did not think it meet to beseech the jury to let him escape death; instead, he believed that the time had now come for him to die. This conviction of his became more evident than ever after the adverse issue of the trial. For, first of all, when he was bidden to name his penalty, he refused personally and forbade his friends to name one, but said that naming the penalty in itself implied an acknowledgment of guilt. Then, when his companions wished to remove him clandestinely from prison, he would not accom-

πετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι ἐδόκει, ἐρόμενος εἴ
που εἰδεῖέν τι χωρίον ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔνθα οὐ
προσβατὸν θανάτῳ.

- 24 Ὡς δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ δίκη, εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Ἄλλ',
ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς μὲν διδάσκοντας τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς
χρὴ ἐπιорκοῦντας καταψευδομαρτυρεῖν ἐμοῦ καὶ
τοὺς πειθομένους τούτοις ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πολλὴν
ἐαυτοῖς συνειδέναι ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν· ἐμοὶ δὲ
τί προσήκει νῦν μείον φρονεῖν ἢ πρὶν κατακριθῆ-
ναι, μηδὲν ἐλεγχθέντι ὡς πεποίηκά τι ὧν ἐγρά-
ψαντό με ; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀντὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας
καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις θεῶν οὔτε θύων τισὶ καινοῖς
δαίμοσιν οὔτε ὁμνῦς οὔτε ὀνομάζων ἄλλους θεοὺς
ἀναπέφνηνα. τοὺς γε μὴν νέους πῶς ἂν διαφθεί-
25 ροιμι καρτερίαν καὶ εὐτέλειαν προσεθίζων ; ἐφ'
οἷς γε μὴν ἔργοις κεῖται θάνατος ἢ ζημία, ἱεροσυ-
λία, τοιχωρυχία, ἀνδραποδίσει, πόλεως προδοσία,
οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀντίδικοι τούτων πρᾶξαί τι κατ'
ἐμοῦ φασιν. ὥστε θαυμαστὸν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι
ὅπως ποτὲ ἐφάνη ὑμῖν τοῦ θανάτου ἔργον ἄξιον
26 ἐμοὶ εἰργασμένον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι ὅτι ἀδίκως
ἀποθνήσκω, διὰ τοῦτο μείον φρονητέον· οὐ γὰρ
ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταγνοῦσι τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ.
παραμυθεῖται δὲ τί με καὶ Παλαμήδης ὁ παρα-
πλησίως ἐμοὶ τελευτήσας· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πολὺ
καλλίους ὕμνους παρέχεται Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ ἀδίκως
ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν· οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ μαρτυρή-

¹ One of the Greek warriors at Troy ; put to death on a charge of treason trumped up by Odysseus, or by Odysseus, Diomedes, and Agamemnon.

pany them, but seemed actually to banter them, asking them whether they knew of any spot outside of Attica that was inaccessible to death.

When the trial was over, Socrates (according to Hermogenes) remarked: "Well, gentlemen, those who instructed the witnesses that they must bear false witness against me, perjuring themselves to do so, and those who were won over to do this must feel in their hearts a guilty consciousness of great impiety and iniquity; but as for me, why should my spirit be any less exalted now than before my condemnation, since I have not been proved guilty of having done any of the acts mentioned in the indictment? For it has not been shown that I have sacrificed to new deities in the stead of Zeus and Hera and the gods of their company, or that I have invoked in oaths or mentioned other gods. And how could I be corrupting the young by habituating them to fortitude and frugality? Now of all the acts for which the laws have prescribed the death-penalty—temple robbery, burglary, enslavement, treason to the state—not even my adversaries themselves charge me with having committed any of these. And so it seems astonishing to me how you could ever have been convinced that I had committed an act meriting death. But further, my spirit need not be less exalted because I am to be executed unjustly; for the ignominy of that attaches not to me but to those who condemned me. And I get comfort from the case of Palamedes,¹ also, who died in circumstances similar to mine; for even yet he affords us far more noble themes for song than does Odysseus, the man who unjustly put him to death. And I know that time to come as well as

σεται ὑπό τε τοῦ ἐπιόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου ὅτι ἠδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πώποτε οὐδὲ πονηρότερον ἐποίησα, ἡυεργέτουν δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαλεγόμενους προῖκα διδάσκων ὅτι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν.

27 Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα μάλα ὁμολογουμένως δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπῆει καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι φαιδρός. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο ἄρα τοὺς παρεπομένους δακρύνοντας, Τί τοῦτο; εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ἢ ἄρτι δακρύετε; οὐ γὰρ πάλαι ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτου περ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὖνοις λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσδοκωμένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι.

28 Παρὼν δέ τις Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἐπιθυμητῆς μὲν ὢν ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως δ' εὐήθης, εἶπεν ἄρα· Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, χαλεπώτατα φέρω ὅτι ὁρῶ σε ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκοντα. τὸν δὲ λέγεται καταψήσαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· Σὺ δέ, ὦ φίλτατε Ἀπολλόδωρε, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐβούλου με ὁρᾶν δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκοντα; καὶ ἅμα ἐπιγελάσαι.

29 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἄνυτον παριόντα ἰδὼν εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὅδε κυδρός, ὡς μέγα τι¹ καὶ καλὸν διαπεπραγμένος εἰ ἀπέκτονέ με ὅτι αὐτὸν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶν ἀξιούμενον οὐκ

¹ Sauppe reads τε (a misprint?).

time past will attest that I, too, far from ever doing any man a wrong or rendering him more wicked, have rather profited those who conversed with me by teaching them, without reward, every good thing that lay in my power."

With these words he departed, blithe in glance, in mien, in gait, as comported well indeed with the words he had just uttered. When he noticed that those who accompanied him were in tears, "What is this?" Hermogenes reports him as asking. "Are you just now beginning to weep? Have you not known all along that from the moment of my birth nature had condemned me to death? Verily, if I am being destroyed before my time while blessings are still pouring in upon me, clearly that should bring grief to me and to my well-wishers; but if I am ending my life when only troubles are in view, my own opinion is that you ought all to feel cheered, in the assurance that my state is happy."

A man named Apollodorus, who was there with him, a very ardent disciple of Socrates, but otherwise simple, exclaimed, "But, Socrates, what I find it hardest to bear is that I see you being put to death unjustly!" The other, stroking Apollodorus' head, is said to have replied, "My beloved Apollodorus, was it your preference to see me put to death justly?" and smiled as he asked the question.

It is said also that he remarked as he saw Anytus¹ passing by: "There goes a man who is filled with pride at the thought that he has accomplished some great and noble end in putting me to death, because, seeing him honoured by the state with the highest

¹ One of the three plaintiffs in Socrates' trial.

- ἔφην χρήναι τὸν υἱὸν περὶ βύρσας παιδεύειν. ὥς
 μοχθηρὸς οὗτος, ἔφη, ὃς οὐκ ἔοικεν εἰδέναι ὅτι
 ὀπότερος ἡμῶν καὶ συμφορώτερα καὶ καλλίω εἰς
 τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον διαπέπρακται, οὗτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ
 30 νικῶν. ἀλλὰ μέντοι, φάναι αὐτόν, ἀνέθηκε μὲν
 καὶ Ὁμηρος ἔστιν οἷς τῶν ἐν καταλύσει τοῦ βίου
 προγινώσκειν τὰ μέλλοντα, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ
 χρησμοφῶσαί τι. συνεγενόμην γάρ ποτε βραχέα
 τῷ Ἀνύτου υἱῷ, καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι οὐκ ἄρρωστος τὴν
 ψυχὴν εἶναι· ὥστε φημι αὐτόν ἐπὶ τῇ δουλο-
 πρεπεῖ διατριβῇ ἣν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ παρεσκεύακεν οὐ
 διαμενεῖν· διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν σπουδαῖον ἐπι-
 μελητὴν προσπείσθαι τινι αἰσχυρᾷ ἐπιθυμία καὶ
 31 προβήσεσθαι μέντοι πόρρω μοχθηρίας. ταῦτα
 δ' εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ νεανίσκος ἡσθεὶς
 οἶνω οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας ἐπαύετο πίνων, καὶ
 τέλος οὔτε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει οὔτε τοῖς φίλοις οὔτε
 αὐτῷ ἄξιος οὐδενὸς ἐγένετο. Ἄνυτος μὲν δὴ διὰ
 τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ πονηρὰν παιδείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
 ἀγνωμοσύνην ἔτι καὶ τετελευτηκὼς τυγχάνει κακο-
 32 δοξίας. Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἑαυτόν
 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ φθόνον ἐπαγόμενος μᾶλλον
 καταψηφίσασθαι ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησε τοὺς δικαστάς.
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ θεοφιλοῦς μοίρας τετυχηκέναι
 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἀπέλιπε, τῶν
 33 δὲ θανάτων τοῦ ῥάστου ἔτυχεν. ἐπεδείξατο δὲ
 τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ῥώμην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνω τοῦ ἔτι ζῆν
 τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτῷ κρεῖττον εἶναι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ
 πρὸς τᾶλλα τὰ γὰθὰ προσάντης ἦν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 29-33

offices, I said that he ought not to confine his son's education to hides.¹ "What a vicious fellow," he continued, "not to know, apparently, that whichever one of us has wrought the more beneficial and noble deeds for all time, *he* is the real victor. But," he is reported to have added, "Homer has attributed to some of his heroes at the moment of dissolution the power to foresee the future; and so I too wish to utter a prophecy. At one time I had a brief association with the son of Anytus, and I thought him not lacking in firmness of spirit; and so I predict that he will not continue in the servile occupation that his father has provided for him; but through want of a worthy adviser he will fall into some disgraceful propensity and will surely go far in the career of vice." In saying this he was not mistaken; the young man, delighting in wine, never left off drinking night or day, and at last turned out worth nothing to his city, his friends, or himself. So Anytus, even though dead, still enjoys an evil repute for his son's mischievous education and for his own hard-heartedness. And as for Socrates, by exalting himself before the court, he brought ill-will upon himself and made his conviction by the jury all the more certain. Now to me he seems to have met a fate that the gods love; for he escaped the hardest part of life and met the easiest sort of death. And he displayed the stalwart nature of his heart; for having once decided that to die was better for him than to live longer, he did not weaken in the presence of death (just as he had never set his face against any other thing, either, that was for

¹ The tanning trade had been in the family from at least the time of the boy's grandfather.

θάνατον ἐμαλακίσατο, ἀλλ' ἱλαρῶς καὶ προσ-
εδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο.

24 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ κατ'ανοῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τε σοφίαν
καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα οὔτε μὴ μεμνήσθαι δύναμαι
αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν. εἰ δέ τις
τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμωτέρῳ τινὶ Σωκρά-
τους συνεγένετο, ἐκείνον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀξιομα-
καριστότατον νομίζω.

SOCRATES' DEFENCE, 33-34

his good), but was cheerful not only in the expectation of death but in meeting it.

And so, in contemplating the man's wisdom and nobility of character, I find it beyond my power to forget him or, in remembering him, to refrain from praising him. And if among those who make virtue their aim any one has ever been brought into contact with a person more helpful than Socrates, I count that man worthy to be called most blessed.

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dinner party at which Socrates speaks of love; and *Oeconomicus* has him giving advice on household management and married life. *Cyropaedia*, a historical romance on the education of Cyrus (the Elder), reflects Xenophon's ideas about rulers and government.

We also have his *Hiero*, a dialogue on government; *Agesilaus*, in praise of that king; *Constitution of Lacedaemon* (on the Spartan system); *Ways and Means* (on the finances of Athens); *Manual for a Cavalry Commander*; a good manual of *Horsemanship*; and a lively *Hunting with Hounds* — mostly hare-hunting. *The Constitution of the Athenians*, though clearly not by Xenophon, is an interesting document on politics at Athens. These eight books are collected in the last of the seven volumes of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Xenophon.

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